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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Should Britain Now Talk Peace?

By Oswald Garrison Villard

Is a Religious Storm Brewing?

By Harold Bosley

This Draft is Despotism!

By Daniel Webster

An Ominous Nomination

An Editorial

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In This Issue

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

recently resigned as contributing editor of the *Nation* due to sharp differences with the editorial policy of that paper on American foreign policy, particularly as it applies to this country's participation in the European war. He was editor and owner of the *Nation* from 1918 to 1933. After forty years of constructive leadership in liberal journalism, Mr. Villard recently published his autobiography under the title *Fighting Years*. It is an illuminating record of the struggle for peace and for the emancipation of economic and political life from the control of privileged interests. He now turns to The Christian Century as the most congenial medium for the continued expression of his views. It is hoped that articles from his pen will frequently appear in these pages.

HAROLD BOSLEY

is pastor of the influential Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church of Baltimore and a frequent contributor to this paper. He is the author of the recent book, *The Quest for Religious Certainty*.

DANIEL WEBSTER

was a young congressman from New Hampshire when this prophetic speech, as badly needed now as in 1814, was made. On July 23, 1940, the Senate Military Affairs committee approved the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription bill. (S: 4164). Let Webster speak again!

LEONARD B. ALLEN

who this week begins sending by air mail "Correspondence from Burma" is head of the history department and college pastor to Judson College, Rangoon.

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Eleanor McClurkin Aledo, Ill. 1.00

To the Red Cross

The Nittany Valley Fellowship of Christian Education Bellefonte, Pa. $5.00

The Christian Century

July 31, 1940

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Calendar of Coming Events

July 23-Aug. 16. Phillips University Graduate School of the Bible, Estes Park, Colo.
July 27-Aug. 3. Interracial Ministers' Institute, West Granville, Mass.
July 27-Aug. 3. Methodist Epworth League Institute, Westtown, Pa.
July 27-Aug. 3. Interdenominational Young People's Conference, Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pa.
July 27-Aug. 10. American Christian Ashram, Saugatuck, Mich.
July 29-Aug. 2. Summer School for Christian Workers, Intermountain Union College, Polytechnic, Mont.
July 29-Aug. 2. Spiritual Conference of Ministers and Laymen, Lancaster, Pa.
July 29-Aug. 2. Lutheran Church Workers' Institute, Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, Tex.
July 29-Aug. 4. Upper Mississippi United Christian Adult Conference, Frontenac, Minn.
July 29-Aug. 4. Rocky Mountain Regional Youth Conference, Geneva Glen, Colo.
July 29-Aug. 4. Youth Temperance Council Encampment, Camp Bethel, Va.
July 29-Aug. 5. Lutheran Training School and Church Workers Conference, Massanetta Springs, Va.
July 29-Aug. 9. Summer School for Town and Country Ministers, Ithaca, N. Y.
July 29-Aug. 9. Western New York Summer School, Silver Lake.
July 29-Aug. 10. Chicago Pastors' Institute.
July 30-Aug. 6. Alberta School of Religion, Camp Fairweather, Alberta, Can.
July 31-Aug. 2. Youth Temperance Council Encampment, Camp Laurel, Del.
Aug. 2-5. Weekend Conference for Laymen, Star Island, N. H.
Aug. 3, 4. Baptist Laymen's Retreat, Camp Warren, Mich.
Aug. 4-7. Institute of Human Relations, Estes Park, Colo.
Aug. 4-9. Interdenominational Institute on Worship, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Aug. 4-9. Annual Church and Choral Music Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Aug. 4-16. Interdenominational Institute on Worship, Chautauqua, N. Y.
Aug. 5. All-States Christian Workers' Institute, Angola, Ind.
Aug. 5-10. Regional Youth Conference, Blue Ridge, N. C.
Aug. 5-12. Summer Assembly for Ministers and Laymen, Collegeville, Pa.
Aug. 5-17. Regional Youth Conference, Winnipesaukee, N. H.
Aug. 5-19. Vacation Conference, Star Island, N. H.
Aug. 7-11. Evangelical Convention on Christian Education, Paynesville, Minn.
Aug. 8-11. Maritime Provinces Disciples Convention, St. John, Can.
Aug. 9-14. Annual Convention, W. C. T. U., Chicago, Ill.
Aug. 11-18. Regional Youth Conference, Silver Creek, Ore.
Aug. 11-18. Summer School of Missions, Lake Geneva, Wis.
Aug. 12, 13. Northern California Congregational Conference, Berkeley.
Aug. 12-18. Rocky Mountain Methodist Assembly, Palmer Lake, Col.
Aug. 12-19. Collegeville Methodist Epworth League Institute, Collegeville, Pa.
Aug. 12-19. Pocono Methodist Epworth League Institute, Blairstown, N. J.
Aug. 13-15. Spiritual Retreat for Women, Star Island, N. H.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LVII CHICAGO, JULY 31, 1940 NUMBER 31

EDITORIAL

DAY by day the Battle of Britain widens, involving more aircraft and larger territory. The pall of censorship which has now settled over the whole of Europe conceals its tragedy and cruelty. It is apparent, however, that the moment for the expected sudden intensification of the struggle has not yet arrived. Meanwhile another neutral, Ireland, will likely be the first victim of this new phase of the hostilities, just as the Low Countries suffered first in the Battle of France. The Irish nation is preparing to resist the British troops as well as the Germans. Separated as we are by distances both psychological and geographic, the sharpness of the nightmare of reality is dulled by the absence of complete information and by the reserve with which available reports must be treated. But we know enough of war in general and of this war in particular to find burning day and night on our inmost altars the poignant blaze of infinite pity, to see flashing in the midnight of our anguish the hot lightnings of conviction that our own sin has helped to pyramid the guilt of this disaster. When we think of what this battle means to millions of little children, to multitudes of innocent homes, to gay youth and to age already bent with sorrows, we raise our trembling prayers to God that this valley of the shadow may soon be passed.

The Battle of Britain

Peace Dove Again Detours Europe

"THE largest male chorus in the world," the Reichstag, cheered with all the enthusiasm of an American convention of successful jobholders when Führer Hitler addressed them this week, giving his own audit of the gains and costs of conquest to date. As a proud conqueror who feels certain of final victory, his appeal to Britain to use "common sense" and to surrender before he looses the blitzkrieg upon her green and happy island is accompanied with an offer of peace on his own terms. "I feel it to be my duty before my own conscience to appeal to reason and common sense in Great Britain as much as elsewhere. I consider myself in a position to make this appeal, since I am not the vanquished, begging favors, but the victor, speaking in the name of reason. I can see no reason why this war must go on. I am grieved to think of the sacrifice which it will claim." What Hitler's undisclosed terms of peace were is a matter of speculation. An unofficial German source is reported to have said that they include acknowledgment of German supremacy on the continent of Europe and the surrender of the former German colonies or their equivalent. Whatever they were, Hitler's bid was flatly rejected by Lord Halifax, foreign secretary, speaking two days later. After recalling broken pledges and Germany's widening grasp for power, he said: "The peoples of the British commonwealth, along with all those who love truth and justice and freedom, will never accept this new world of Hitler's. Free men, not slaves; free nations, not German vassals; a community of nations freely cooperating for the good of all—these are the pillars of the new and better order that the British people wish to see."

Bill to Send American Ships For British Children

WHAT WAS referred to in these pages last week as a dangerous proposal put forward by a few newspapers has been advanced to the status of pending legislation. This has been done by the introduction of Congressman Hennings' bill to amend the neutrality act to permit sending American vessels into the zone of combat to bring British children to America. The affirmative argument is essentially in two parts: first, the lack of British shipping facilities prevents carrying out this humane project; second, American vessels could be sent safely for this purpose because they are already being sent into the same waters with Red Cross supplies. The answer: first, lack of British ships and convoys is evidently not the cause of the project's failure because empty ships under convoy are constantly making the westward passage, and because British spokesmen first tried to throw the blame on American immigration "red tape" which, in fact, has been cut since the beginning of the enterprise; second, Red Cross ships travel safely under an agreement with Germany which does not extend to ships carrying British

children. Without trying to pin sinister motives on those, whether British or American, who are urging the relaxation of our neutrality act, it is impossible not to foresee its probable consequences. We don't want another Lusitania. To send American ships under British naval convoy would not meet the alleged need. To send them without convoy would be to rely upon a security that does not exist and to invite, in case of "accident," an emotional storm which would sweep us into war. To send our own naval convoy would be not merely to modify our neutrality but to scuttle it. But now the whole scheme is held up by two new facts: the children don't want to be evacuated, and Mr. Churchill, voicing what seems to be a large body of opinion, says that sending them would be "most undesirable."

Holding the Americas Together

ALMOST simultaneously with the opening of the Pan-American conference at Havana and Mr. Hull's strong speech on the necessity of preserving the solidarity of this hemisphere against alien powers came the President's message to Congress asking an additional credit of half a billion dollars to be loaned to the Latin-American countries to finance the marketing of their surplus products. A similar proposal last year met an unfavorable response, especially from the holders of defaulted South American bonds. A Congress that has met every demand made upon it in the name of national defense will probably not haggle over this proposal which has the same ultimate aim. However, in all these efforts to create a common economic front by protecting the markets of our southern neighbors against nazi domination, it must be remembered that the marketing of surpluses can never be effectively handled without giving some attention also to the production of surpluses. The Triple A and the crop limitation programs were methods of trying to deal with our own "surplus" problem at its source. They did not work very well with us, and there is no reason to believe that they would work at all on a hemispheric scale. The alternative is to raise incomes and standards of living to a point where surpluses will be absorbed by increased purchasing power. Lending half a billion dollars will not do that for the 120,000,000 people in the twenty republics to the south of us, not to mention the fact that we have not begun to solve the problem for our own 130,000,000. In this matter, as well as in that of preventing French, Dutch and possibly British possessions in the Caribbean area from falling into German hands, the people of the United States are sincere in desiring the common good, not North American domination. The difficulty lies in persuading our smaller and not unreasonably suspicious neighbors that this is true.

The Higher Life Takes To the Woods

NOT IN RETREAT from reality nor in flight from the fray, the promoters of the higher life in America take to the woods in summer. It is an edifying practice and very full of comfort. Perhaps Chautauqua started it, when Bishop Vincent had his brilliant inspiration sixty-six years ago and founded "the most American thing in America." More recently the "summer conference"—with or without a permanent habitat, but more often without—has become a part of the pattern of religious and intellectual life in this country. Lakeside resorts, college campuses, mountain camps, these are the favorite places of assembly for promoters of good causes, seekers of culture and cultivators of the spiritual life. Young people's conferences are perhaps the most numerous and the most largely attended, and their influence for good has been incalculable. But there are also many gatherings of adults, like-minded in the advocacy of some project for the larger good. Of dozens that might be listed, two will be mentioned by way of illustration. Dr. E. Stanley Jones and Miss Muriel Lester are starting an "ashram" in Michigan to provide a two-weeks training period in preparation for the National Preaching Mission. The National Conference of Christians and Jews is holding a conference at Estes Park, Colorado, during the first week in August, to advance the cause of tolerance and mutual understanding in these days of interracial suspicion and interclass prejudice. A visitor from another planet might be puzzled to decide whether idealistic Americans do not take their causes seriously, seeing that they mix so much relaxation and hilarity with the process of promoting them, or whether these enterprises weigh too heavily upon their conscience since they must carry them along even on vacations. Those who attend conferences know the answer. The normal American can be serious without being solemn; he can labor to save the world in the morning and go swimming in the afternoon with no sense of incongruity; he can be very much in earnest without being so much an ascetic as to feel the need of a haircloth shirt—especially in summer.

Pacifists Choose New Leader

AS Christian pacifists approach the national crisis, they are bringing their best leadership to the top. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has invited Rev. A. J. Muste of Labor Temple, New York, to become its executive secretary and he has accepted. This association of men and women originated in England in 1914 and was brought to America a year later by Henry Hodgkin, the Quaker. It now numbers over 10,000 members in all churches. One of the first groups in the country to renounce the "united front," it ousted in 1933 an executive secretary who had become a communist "fellow traveler," on the ground that love as a way of life is equally applicable to the class struggle as to international strife. Dr. Muste, whose pacifist convictions cost him his pulpit in 1918, is well equipped to provide the kind of leadership that this hard beset point of view now needs. Although he once made a detour into revolutionary socialism, he emerged in 1937 and returned to his former faith. In his article in The Christian Century series on "How My Mind Has Changed" he pointed out that the struggle for power in the labor and political movements of the left had convinced him that Christian love alone can withstand the strain thrown on character in a time of great social change and provide both a goal consonant with the purposes of

God and a method which will not carry within itself the seeds of its own defeat. In a letter to the trustees of Labor Temple setting forth reasons for his latest move, Dr. Muste says: "I believe the issue of war to be the profoundest issue before the Christian church today, and that there is no salvation for our nation or for civilization save in the renunciation of war. Because I believe that the F.O.R. must in humility and earnestness help the church meet the challenge of totalitarian war and the problem of conscientious objection to war this summons is imperative for me. I think of the Fellowship as an arm of the church, an order of persons who seek to practice the way of love as revealed in Jesus."

Baltic Republics Vote Merger with Soviets

QUITE simply and smoothly, almost as a matter of routine business, the legislative assemblies of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on the same day voted to make their respective countries communist soviet republics and petitioned for admission into the U.S.S.R. Moscow will doubtless graciously accede to this request. The parliaments which passed these resolutions had been elected after the occupation of the three countries by Russian troops. It is a fair inference that they were elected for this purpose. The elections were held under communist auspices, the successful candidates were communists or under communist control, and the resolutions asking for annexation were adopted under the watchful eyes of the Russian commissars who have been in control of the internal affairs of these states since the military occupation. Though these facts exclude the idea that the action represented a free choice by the Baltic peoples, it cannot be said that it was imposed upon them contrary to their wills. Free choice had already been excluded by their position between Russia and Germany. They were on the spot. The choice of continued freedom and neutrality was not open to them. As a matter of fact, they were not even allowed to choose their master. But as between two such masters, what difference did it make? Of the two, they may well have preferred Russia, which is at least technically at peace. Yet it is evident that there were those who resisted. The former ministers of the three states have disappeared from public view with suspicious suddenness. It is suspected that they are in custody in Moscow awaiting—what? The religious complexion of these countries is as follows: Lithuania is 80 per cent Roman Catholic, 10 per cent Protestant, 7 per cent Jewish, 3 per cent Eastern Orthodox; Latvia, 25 per cent Roman Catholic, 55 per cent Protestant, 5 per cent Jewish; Estonia, 80 per cent Protestant, 19 per cent Eastern Orthodox. These populations, totaling about 5,500,000, will not fit congenially into the soviet pattern of militant atheism.

Japan Prepares to Seize Her 'Golden Opportunity'

STORM portents increase over Asia. The return to power of Prince Konoye, who was at the helm in Japan when the war on China began, indicates that that nation is about to make a new move to consolidate her conquests. Before he accepted the premiership, Prince Konoye demanded and finally received from the principal factions in Japan assurances of complete support. The army is now free from everything except the thinnest shadow of parliamentary restraint. The country is to be ruled by a four man cabal. In addition to the prince, who masks expansionism behind a pretense of liberalism, the representatives of the army and navy typically embody the intransigence of those services. The new foreign minister, Mr. Matsuoka, is the American educated diplomat who headed Japan's delegation when it walked out of the League of Nations. Since then his principal assignment has been to organize Manchukuo for exploitation. The task of the new government is to capitalize the "golden opportunity" which the defeat of the European colonial powers has thrown at the feet of the mikado. While Japan is in no condition to engage in further warfare, she is gambling that it will not be necessary. The stiffened attitude toward the rest of the world on the part of the new government is already evident. It has successfully brought pressure on Great Britain to close the Burma road. In Shanghai and Tsingtao fights between American soldiers and Japanese police indicate that this time, with Britain compliant, the United States will be the object of Japanese attention. The policy of our government to resist extensions of Japanese power and the increased aggressiveness of the new government make a collision inevitable if present attitudes continue on both sides. Trouble will probably center in Shanghai, whose International Settlement is at once the greatest prize in Asia and the keystone of American interest in China. Now, probably too late, the wisdom of a policy we pressed years ago becomes apparent. Long ago we urged the withdrawal of American troops from China. So long as they are there the situation plays directly into the hands of military cliques, either here or in Japan, who may desire to fish in the troubled waters of East Asia. It is particularly dangerous to have them in Shanghai now.

Death Recalls Dubious Church Venture

FLATLY and on the highest authority we are told that we cannot serve God and mammon. But we keep on trying, each generation thinking up new schemes. A number of years ago several of our city churches attempted to combine godliness and real estate speculation. Ministers or office bearers suddenly became aware that the holy ground their churches occupied had by business man's magic become a "desirable downtown corner." Some demolished their old churches and erected hotels, apartment houses or office buildings, stowing away in their inner spaces auditoriums and classrooms to replace the old church. The churches intended to operate these "properties," caring thereby for their budgets, about which their givers were having increasing difficulty in being cheerful as the difficulties of maintaining an adequate downtown church mounted. But fantastically inflated land values and inexpert management combined with the landslide of 1929 to render unpopular what remained of the idea, and the fad passed more quickly than the debts created by it. We were reminded of it this week when Dr. Christian

F. Reisner, promoter of Broadway Temple, one of the most ambitious of all these projects, passed away in New York. Dr. Reisner was a sincere and genial minister of the gospel who advertised widely, worked courageously and with tremendous energy and did more to put into effect Bruce Barton's combination of piety and profits than any of his religious contemporaries. Although he might have been expected to be more critical of its spiritual weaknesses, it was not his fault that that philosophy was not even good business. He died with his dream of a 44-story "Temple" still far from fulfillment, battling gallantly to the last to make it come true. A New York paper memorialized him as "probably the nation's most spectacular and successful salesman of Christianity."

An Ominous Nomination

THE PEOPLE of the United States are entering what may prove to be the most bitter and certainly will be the most fateful presidential campaign since Lincoln's second nomination in the midst of the Civil War. The issues now, as then, involve the preservation of the American form of government. Then the question was, Is this a real nation, or only a congeries of loosely confederated states? Now the question is, Shall this nation continue to be a democracy, or shall it be allowed to pass into the control of a fascist dictatorship? The threat of fascism arises from two sources, one economic, the other political.

The economic condition of the country is one which lends itself to the exploitation of a fascist leadership when the psychological moment arrives. For eight years the party in power has grappled with a domestic economic problem whose magnitude and acuteness are without parallel. Much good legislation has been put upon the statute books. Certain principles concerning the responsibility of society as a whole to the individual members of society have been established as permanent functions of the government.

But these principles and this legislation have not solved the deep-lying problem of our national housekeeping. Our industrial system continues to hold off millions of workers who would give their eyeteeth to get access to the means of producing goods for themselves and their families. They are not merely unemployed; they are disemployed. No equilibrium of agriculture and industry has been achieved: each move to redress the balance on one side is countered by an upsetting move on the other side. And so the conflict between farm and factory continues, with ruinous results for both.

All this can be said without playing into the uncritical assumption that the Republican party would have done better. It has offered no principle of action at any time which promised a more penetrating and permanent solution. But meanwhile, over the whole surface of this economic condition, a new political situation has developed. It has developed from the effort to appease the disemployed, to strengthen the bargaining power of workers already employed, to subsidize the curtailment of production in agriculture, and to maintain unimpaired the subsidization of industry by the tariff system. Unable to find an economic principle which would resolve these interests into one common interest, politics treats them as four separate class interests. The party in power makes its appeal for the votes of each class on the ground of the specific privileges it has enacted into law, or the favors it has granted to one group or another by taxing the whole people. That these special class favors do not combine to produce national well-being is conveniently disregarded.

The party in opposition follows the same pattern, only substituting promises for the claim of past accomplishments. In current politics, the concept of the nation as a whole has been eclipsed by the concepts of class interests. Neither political party offers any economic proposal which will cut under the clashing interests of the employed, the disemployed, the farmer and the manufacturer, and unify the national economy for the well-being of all its members. Our political system has become a government by economic blocs.

This picture of American politics is not, of course, wholly new, but its configuration has been sharpened and thrown into bolder relief, first, by the definitive failure of all special legislation to alleviate conditions in the total national economy, and secondly, by the increase of class consciousness and of a more closely knit organization within the several occupational blocs. The tensions in such a situation constitute the ideal condition for the emergence of a fascist order. The party in power has exhausted its resources to satisfy the clamant needs of the nation as a whole. The illusion of success by dealing piecemeal with the various blocs cannot long be maintained. The government faces, whether under the present administration or that of the opposition, soon or late, an uprising in industry or labor which would take the reins of government from the hands of a political party democratically constituted and empowered, and shift them to the hands of a dictatorship. This is what we mean by the economic threat to our democratic form of government.

The political threat is less obscure and hypothetical. It presents itself in the guise of a war emergency. The party in power, unable to unify the national life at the level of its economic well-being, now turns to the war as a unifying substitute. This is neither a cynical nor a partisan statement. It is not cynical, because it imputes no evil motivation. It is not partisan, because the other party has given no grounds for supposing that, had it been in power during the past eight years, it would now face a happier domestic situation or yield less easily to the temptations presented by the war. It is a political judgment based, as every political judgment must be, not upon men and motives, but upon the forces which determine political action.

Looking upon the political scene with political eyes, we are bound to affirm that the attitude of the present administration toward the war is an effort to escape the threat of inward rupture of our national life by galvanizing the nation into unity through hysterical fear of the conqueror of Europe whom it takes every occasion to bait with gratuitous defiance. The threat of inward rupture is the threat of fascism or communism arising from economic discontent and conflict, spelling thus the overthrow of our democratic system of government. But the escape from this threat by way of the war only throws the nation more surely into the arms of fascism. The only difference between the two types of fascism is that one would come

convulsively, in the interest of the particular class which might seize power, while the other can be brought about in the name of national unity and patriotism and under the forms of the prevailing party system as, indeed, it was brought about in Germany. In the end, the difference in the two methods will prove to be negligible.

The Democratic convention, recently held in Chicago, brought into focus the factors which are operating in our body politic radically to change our democracy into something else than a democracy. To begin with, there was the grandiose attempt in the platform and the speechmaking to create the illusion that the specific favors which the administration had rendered the various economic blocs had resulted in national well-being. In so far as this attempt is successful, it tends to tie up these blocs to the support of the party at least until election.

Then there was the servile party organization, whose backbone is the army of jobholders created by an administration which twice swept the country so completely that hardly a state or city organization was left to the opposition. The opposition organization, fed chiefly on hope, exhibited in its party convention in Philadelphia the impotence to which it had been reduced. Thus federal, state and local governments for eight years have been able to cooperate in the building of a party machine whose magnitude and integration are unparalleled in our political history.

Added to this is the vast army of the disemployed whose hearts are grateful for the relief and the work with which the administration has compensated them for their failure to gain access to any self-respecting means of making a livelihood. We have here the nearest approach to the one-party system, characteristic of fascism, which our country has known. A Hitler or a Mussolini would consider it an adequate instrument to put the fascist program over the top.

But the Chicago convention revealed more; or rather, it confirmed and brought to a focus other factors in the making of a fascist regime. The country had already been launched upon a vast preparedness crusade, partly justified, no doubt, but overstimulated by the administration's excited conjuring up of enemies without and within. The platform was silent on the method of recruiting men for the preparedness forces. Its makers were unable to agree, after hours of debate, on the conscription issue, and were finally instructed from Washington to drop the subject altogether. Mr. Roosevelt's acceptance speech immediately supplied the lack by declaring explicitly for the draft. The draft does more than provide an army. It converts the national peacetime psychology into a war psychology by compelling every citizen from 18 to 64 years personally to confront war as an imminent probability. Thus the commander-in-chief of the army would not only have a real army, but a nation unified by military psychology. The implications for a fascist regime are obvious.

What is this army to be used for? Defense? Yes. But where is the front line of American defense? Both party platforms declared against the participation of America's forces in foreign wars. Senator Wheeler and others made a vigorous fight to write into the Democratic platform an anti-foreign war plank stronger than that of the Republicans. They succeeded. But the anti-foreign war plank was straightway torn out of the platform by the President's acceptance speech. He clearly intended to focus attention upon the English channel as the front line of our defense. Mr. Roosevelt is determined to create an enemy against whom this vast preparedness is being made. The job which he envisages for our army, navy and air force is not merely to defend the Americas against possible aggression or encroachments by this enemy, but to help Great Britain vanquish him on his own ground.

This war policy of the present administration is not born of America's strength, but of America's weakness. It is a compensatory shift from an unsolved economic problem which holds the threat of fascism from within, to a foreign issue by which a political unity may be achieved under the party now in power, with the almost certain prospect that this political unity, once it is accepted by the electorate, will establish the nation upon a one-party system. This, of course, is fascism.

There is no other explanation of the third term candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt. It is naive to accept the absurd doctrine of his indispensability in the conduct of any really *national* interest, either domestic or foreign. There exists absolutely no emergency through which he alone is fitted to guide the country. But there is an emergency, a political emergency of his own and his party's creation, to which he is indispensable. It takes the form of a vast and unprecedented political opportunity to unify the national life under a one-party system.

Mr. Roosevelt is indeed indispensable if this opportunity is to be seized and realized. He is the Führer of this inchoate fascism. He has a party whose core is already firmly integrated by the self-interest of its members. He is asking for an army to march at his command. Success at the polls in defying the anti-third-term tradition will confirm the growing myth of his messianic character, and provide him with a Congress more subservient than ever to his will. The cool daring with which he asks for each fresh appropriation of billions of dollars has already given him the stature of a superman in public awe. A foreign war actually launched, or only continued in the realm of hysterical imagination where it has already begun, will disintegrate the opposing party, suppress a critical public opinion, and unify the nation in the typical fascist mold.

The prospect is indeed an ominous one. Whether this development has already gone so far that opposition will prove futile, the next few months will demonstrate. Mr. Roosevelt's confidence in the outcome is such that he promises to make practically no personal campaign, reserving only the intention to reply to "falsifications" of his record, his words or his purposes. What is the secret of his confidence? It lies in his belief that he can keep alive for at least the next three months the public consciousness of a supreme emergency of whose real inwardness he alone has knowledge.

Like "de Lawd" in *The Green Pastures,* whose technique in rescuing his cause from failure was to "pass a miracle" every now and then, Mr. Roosevelt can "pass" an emergency which in politics is as good as any miracle. From time to time he can perform some act, or demand another astronomical sum from Congress, or utter a cryptic word, or shout defiance at Hitler, all of which will keep the nation conscious of the emergency of whose mystery

he alone is the custodian and whose terrors, real or imaginary, he alone can release.

The prospect is all the more disquieting because the Republican candidate has so far given no indication that he intends to press the vital issue. If Mr. Willkie is unable to transcend the Republican platform and devote himself to the exposure of the fascist development that is proceeding under cover of "war emergency," his attack will be pointless and is likely to be futile. For the essentials of the New Deal, the Republican party has no plausible substitute. It can, however, call the electorate to a vivid realization of the un-American system that is stealthily fastening its grip upon our national life. If it exposes and succeeds in overturning *that,* a new administration, profiting by both the failures and successes of its predecessor, might—it just might—be able to find a way to unify our economic life before a fascist order emerges from within.

The Temperate Forest

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have been living during the winter and spring on the edge of a forest, but it is not an equatorial forest, such as the one on the edge of which Dr. Schweitzer lives. There are no snakes here, no beast wilder than the deer or the shy badger, and from the heart of it I can hear though faintly the roar of the city. It has none of the perils for the traveler which may be found in that African forest, and it is not therefore a scene in which there wait calls for courage and humanity. It is rather a home of quiet in a noisy world.

But I have learned to know the forest and in a small way to understand how it has furnished for the spirit of man a language both grave and beautiful in his many moods. Man, it is true, has not left the forest as it was when the first of his race entered it. He has made it free from many ancient foes. It is more beautiful now, at least according to our standards. It no longer arouses within us thoughts of ambushes in which enemies lie in wait. The language of the forest is reserved now for other uses.

It does speak to me of enduring things. It sets my life in a world in which centuries are the units, not years. These trees were here before me, and they will go on when I shall not see them. They give me a picture which my father's father may have seen, and my children's children will see. Is it wrong to find in them such a language?

I confess frankly that to many of the words of the poets on this matter I am unresponsive. When I read Sidney Lanier's "A Ballad of Trees and the Master" I feel the beauty of it, but I cannot enter into the poet's mind. It does not help me to understand Gethsemane to read

> But the olives they were not blind to Him,
> The little grey leaves were kind to Him,
> The thorn-tree had a mind to Him
> When into the woods He came.

It is not open to doubt that our Lord knew how the singers of Israel loved and he too loved the cedars of Lebanon and the trees of the Lord which were full of sap. Nor can it have been without reason that "he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron where was a garden" and that garden was an orchard of olive trees. But I cannot follow the poet when he makes these trees have an almost personal value. The poet might appropriately answer, "You don't see it? Don't you wish you could!"

But there are some things which we can discover in the trees of the forest without fear of taking fancy for the imagination: we can enjoy them without finding any spiritual counsel. I have seen the leaves die; I have seen the bare boughs dripping with rain; I have watched them white with snow; I have rejoiced in the fresh green leaves. They are not parables or symbols only; we may be content if we may but enjoy "the things that others understand."

I don't want to live always in the realm of morals. I am content to say sometimes, "I love the forest," and if I think it wrong for the Israelites to worship the Baalim of their hills and woods, I am no less certain that God can be worshiped in the forest, and he is in mine. Not all of God; not the supreme word—but still God. And if I have learned anything from him elsewhere I need not lay it aside under the trees. I can read there without any sense of unfitness my offices or liturgies or the Holy Word itself.

If that is paganism, then I am proud to be a pagan. And if I were a better Christian I should be a still better pagan. We have to be converted from paganism to Christian faith and then converted back again to paganism.

Ever yours sylvan,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Hymn for Dark Days

(Tune: *Hymn to Joy*)

GOD of life and light and glory,
Guide our steps, make clear the way:
Help us heed Thine ancient story,
Save us from war's crimson sway.
Through the ages men like cattle
March to death to no avail:
Thou dost watch above the battle,
Loving still though wrong prevail.

Kingdoms rise and fall before Thee,
Might of men a broken reed:
Out of darkness we adore Thee,
Trusting Thee in sorest need.
Long Thine arm and strong forever,
Firm is Thine all-gracious hand:
Christians know Thou failest never,
Thou dost give the strength to stand.

Thou didst send Thy Son to save us
From our fear and hate and lust.
We would lift the torch He gave us:
Teach us in that love to trust.
God of mercy, God of power,
Help us know that in Thy plan
Through the turmoil of this hour
Still there walks the Son of Man.

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

Should Britain Now Talk Peace?

By Oswald Garrison Villard

REALLY this question should read: "Should England *have* talked peace with Hitler?" For Viscount Halifax's reply to the man who is threatening England with "the worst destruction ever seen by mankind" closes the door, or apparently does so. Even before the British foreign minister spoke, Hitler's speech met with only cold contempt in England. "Discussing peace" with Hitler means to Englishmen, or at least the great bulk of the British people, a shameful peace, dictated by a Hitler flushed by his unparalleled victories over Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France. It means talking with a man whose word has again and again been proved to be utterly worthless, whose whole philosophy is the practicing of deceit, trickery, fraud, corruption and violence to attain his most abominable falsehoods, calumnies and vilifications, not only of the English people, but of the British leaders. It has continuously demanded the total destruction of the British empire. Yet Hitler now unblushingly says to them once more that really he has always liked and respected the British and the British empire and that therefore he kindly and generously gives them one more opportunity to save their skins, their wives, children and their whole country from destruction.

Neutral Voices for Peace Spurned

That the answer would be what it has been was a foregone conclusion. On last October 6 Hitler made a somewhat similar speech in which he announced his readiness to talk peace, and that offer was contemptuously spurned by the Allies. This did not meet with approval among the neutrals, with the result that the King of Belgium and the Queen of Holland made their own appeals to the warring powers to discuss the possibility of ending the war, which appeals were rejected on both sides. Again, this left the neutrals wholly dissatisfied. On January 3 the Dutch prime minister, Jan Van De Geer, made a "New Year speech" in which he declared that he looked with the profoundest anxiety into the future; that the only hope that he had came from the fact that certain voices were being raised in Europe and America demanding a reconsideration of the situation, and particularly a re-examination of all the events of the last twenty years and of the international reactions resulting from the last war. This, he said, should be done. But no one listened to the premier's effort to save Holland from its impending fate.

Then and since then English officials have steadily taken the position that they cannot treat with Hitler because they have no guarantee whatsoever that any treaty or agreement made with him will last any longer than it suits his convenience or his malign purposes, and no one can deny that there is plenty of justification for that attitude. In this position England's government and her writers in the press are backed by an extraordinarily unanimous public opinion. Even that fact, however, does not necessarily establish the correctness of the British policy in refusing to respond to Hitler's latest speech. When I entered the home of one of our foremost diplomatic representatives in Europe last fall, when the war was in its third month, he said to me: "I am for a shameful peace if necessary, because the alternative is too terrible to contemplate." I presume that as he looks at Norway, Holland, Belgium and France today he feels justified in his attitude; the alternative has proved more horrible than most of us here in America can realize.

The Dutch legation in Washington has just issued a bulletin which lies before me. It recites that: "The crime against Rotterdam was a deliberate, fiendish assault on unarmed, undefended civilians. . . . The result was the greatest mass destruction the world has so far known. In the seven and one-half minutes the planes were over the city, thirty thousand people died—four thousand unoffending men, women and children per minute. Seventy thousand others were maimed and injured. Not even the forces of nature have ever been so wantonly cruel. Not even the volcanoes of Pelee and Krakatoa took such a horrible toll of life in so short a space of time. Two groups of twenty-seven planes each were responsible for this display of barbarism. They dropped one-thousand-pound bombs."

Why is it that the British are ready to risk similar destruction not merely in one of their cities but in many? The Germans told me in November what their program was and everything that they foretold has come true, as I reported it afterward, with the exception of the fact that Spain is not yet in the war, and that England was not destroyed by the 15th of July as they prophesied. They assured me that when they cut loose with the full power of their thirty thousand or more airplanes and their great fleet of submarines and fast motorboats, not a single British port would remain undestroyed except the city of London itself, which they swore they would not bomb because of its priceless monuments of the past and because of the effect such bombings would have upon neutral and especially American opinion. Thus far London seems to have escaped.

What Determines Britain's Choice?

Is the British readiness to face such possible destruction due to its belief that, despite its inferiority in bombers and pursuit planes, it can hold off the German attacks and repel any possible invaders? Or is it due to a mental and moral determination to die rather than to surrender to an enemy as utterly despicable and merciless and wicked as Hitler when their island constitutes practically the last citadel of free institutions in Europe?

Both beliefs have played their share in this decision. The British have now three million men under arms in England, Scotland and Wales. Since the débacle in France they have achieved military wonders in preparing for attacks. Characteristically their morale has risen steadily with each reverse; at last they have come to a realization that they are up against the most ruthless and most efficient military machine the world has ever seen. They are

not afraid and they are not deterred by the fact that it is obviously impossible for them to achieve a military victory. The most that they can pray for is to hold off the threatened wholesale destruction of England until winter brings some amelioration, in the hope that the threatened famine in Europe, war weariness on the part of the German people, and the Russian threat in the Balkans will next winter force a truce and peace on honorable terms. Indeed I suspect that many Englishmen will see in Hitler's speech not an attempt to be magnanimous, but a sign of weakness. There can be no doubt whatever that the popular response in Germany to the "glorious victories" has been nothing like what the Hitler gang had hoped and expected; there is plenty of trustworthy evidence that the German people are depressed and not elated, and that they dread beyond all else, as they did when I was in Germany in November, a continuation of the war.

Preserving a 'Life Above Life'

As to the public feeling in England in regard to negotiation, the readiness to go on and face the worst is universal except among those groups that either sympathize secretly with Hitler and fascism, or are of the conscientious belief that all war is wrong, that there must be no compromise with it whatsoever, and that any peace terms are preferable to such things as happened in Rotterdam. Both of these groups together constitute only a small minority. Perhaps it is because the British are lacking in imagination and are unable to visualize what happened in Poland and Holland and France; perhaps it is because of their own dogged characteristics, but today they prefer to take the risk of losing everything. There has been no more consistent pacifist in England for the last thirty years than Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, wife of the well known member of Parliament and of the former Labor government, F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, also an ardent worker for peace. Writing to *Peace News,* the organ of "Dick" Sheppard's uncompromising "Peace Pledge Union," she said:

> And now that nemesis has fallen upon us all, we have to adjust ourselves to the new situation. We have to meet the full shock of our fate as a nation and overcome it—not by negotiation, for that way is for the present moment closed; not by surrender, because that would be dishonor, but by wholly accepted sacrifice and by an immovable will to win back our lost rights of determining our future so that having learned our lesson, and been purified by suffering, we may as a united people enter in the end on the path that will lead to a new world, based on a new justice, whereby class privileges and economic inequalities will be swept away, and all may enjoy, on the same terms, the bounty of the earth.

In a long letter to the *New York Times,* R. H. Tawney, English writer and Labor leader, declares that Labor has entered the British government and submitted to the loss of rights, the deprivation of privileges and liberties which no one dreamed that it would give up without a fight, because the working people of England are fighting "to preserve a way of life which we value above life. We mean to leave it to our children, even if, in order to save it for them, we ourselves must be knocked out." This is not said by Professor Tawney and others in any spirit of braggadocio or mock heroics. It is, I repeat, sincerely felt by the British people as I observed them during the first three months of the war and since; even then they were saying that it was a "horrible job," but that it had to be done, "so let's get on with it."

And still I am not convinced, any more than I was in October, that some effort should not be made now to see if Hitler has or has not come to his senses; to see if he has any terms to offer which Englishmen might feel that they could accept or at least discuss further. That was not only my attitude last October, but that of numerous neutral diplomats. We felt that the fighting could continue, if that was desirable, while the possibilities of peace were being explored; that the stakes were so enormous that no stone should be left unturned to stop the horrible destruction of human values and human life. Even if one does not want to touch Hitler with a forty-foot pole, he is, unfortunately enough, the representative of a great people (many of whom, as I found out when in Germany, opposed the war and wanted it stopped), and as such it is necessary to deal with him. I cannot see how anything could have been lost by the British by an inquiry as to what he had in mind, what kind of Europe he visualized, what terms of peace he proposed. Since he made the advance no one could accuse England of weakness in asking; German raids over England could continue and English raids over Germany if that is desirable. The destruction of England is so horrible to contemplate that, though it may not come to pass, surely humanity alone dictates that everything should be done to avoid the possibility of this disaster, which will be a disaster not only to England, but to all the world, to all who have profited by the heritage of free men and free institutions.

The Arbitrament of the Bomber

When I returned from Europe I was asked by one of our highest officials if I had found trace of a movement in Holland headed by the queen against making any resistance to Hitler if he attacked. I replied in the negative. He rejoiced. I said: "Surely you would not want them to fight when they told me they could not possibly hold Hitler off for more than four days, which would be of no practical military value whatsoever?" He said: "Yes, I would." I said: "Are you not forgetting the horrible suffering that will result, what will be done to men, women and children, without any compensation in the way of holding up Hitler?" He refused to reply although I twice put the question to him. Sometimes I think that that is one of the worst faults of men in high office when it comes to making war. They cannot visualize the cost in the misery and suffering of others when they are safe and sheltered.

So I think England should have inquired then and should do so now. Against my puny judgment must be set the fact that, as I have said, the great bulk of the British people are behind their government and ready to submit their very existence to the arbitrament of the bomber.

Humanitarians

MEN rue the hosts that flood and storm have slain,
Red conflagrations, and black tidal waves.
And then, with gun and bomb, we dig more graves
Than the blind earthquake and the hurricane.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Is a Religious Storm Brewing?

By Harold Bosley

UNTIL six months ago I was one of an increasing group of Protestant clergymen who dared to hope that the main outlines of religious toleration were understood, appreciated and respected by the religious groups and the political strategists of this country. There was concrete evidence that something new in interfaith relations was struggling toward maturity here. The National Conference of Christians and Jews, working over a period of years, had brought Jews, Catholics and Protestants together in thousands of round-table conferences in churches, schools and community centers to discuss amicably their points of agreement and difference. This "American way" was hailed as the democratic alternative to age-old strife and outright persecution. Then came the unprecedented appointment of Mr. Taylor as Mr. Roosevelt's "personal representative with the rank of ambassador" to the Vatican. Now storm signals are flying again along the entire coastline of Catholic and Protestant relationships.

Moving Toward Madness

Two things aroused Protestantism on this matter. First, it represents the recurrent efforts of political strategists to capitalize on the religious solidarity of the Roman Catholic Church and the disunity of Protestant groups. That this political dynamite can go off in thoroughly unpredictable and uncontrollable ways should have been demonstrated in the 1928 presidential campaign. Now we face another campaign, hedged about with factors even more dangerous.

It is simply inconceivable that responsible leaders in government will persist in an action which can end only in aggravation of discord in the religious life of America. Let political strategists take warning: You cannot purchase, by granting special privileges to any religious group, the political support of that group without at the same time and on that same issue alienating the political support of other religious groups. Political strategists must face this question: Are you willing to assume responsibility for starting another forest fire of religious antagonism in this country? They should understand that this basically is what they are doing, rather than simply angling for the support of a church that has 21,000,000 people. There are 109,000,000 other people who, while they may not be united ecclesiastically, are agreed that our heritage of religious freedom is something which must be protected at all cost. For political strategists to move in that direction recalls the line from "King Lear," "That way madness lies." Yet that is the way the Taylor appointment is moving religious and political forces of this country.

The second reason for the present agitation is Protestantism's continual suspicion, borne out by evidence, that the Catholic Church either does not understand or will not respect the principle of the separation of church and state which is fundamental to religious harmony in this country. We see in the Taylor appointment the nose of the camel coming into the tent of religious life in America, and there is reason to suspect that the rest of the camel is as cold as the nose.

The matter, I believe, can be stated this way: Non-Catholic groups in America are opposed to the Taylor mission because, in their judgment, it is an irresponsible and profound violation of the historic principle of the separation of church and state; the Catholic Church is unmoved by this reason because it disbelieves in this principle. The Catholic leaders have spoken plainly and unmistakably for themselves on this point.

Shibboleths and Bogeys

Archbishop Spellman, on March 12, referred to the principle of separation of church and state as "the shibboleth of separation of church and state." The Rev. George Johnson, associate professor of education in the Catholic University of America, writing in the April issue of the *Atlantic Monthly,* refers to the principle of separation of church and state as "that bogey." Father Wilfred Parsons, S.J., dean of the graduate school of Georgetown University, speaking in Baltimore on April 10, is reported to have said that the President's action in the Taylor appointment "has been held contrary to some imaginary American tradition." To these gentlemen the American principle of the separation of church and state may be a "shibboleth," a "bogey" or "imaginary," but it is a fundamental religious as well as civic principle to all non-Catholic groups.

Let us examine the two reasons why our constitutional fathers chose to separate the church and the state.

In the first place, they had vivid memories of religious oppression in Europe. The colonies were founded largely by men and women seeking refuge from religious persecution in Europe. Of course, this was not the only reason. Commercial and political motives lay behind the formation of the large colonial companies. But the great bodies of immigrants in the early colonial period of this country came as the result of religious oppression in the old country. And for Protestants to blame the Catholics, or vice versa, for this persecution would be for the pot to call the kettle black.

Lesson in America

Pilgrims and Puritans came to Massachusetts and the rest of New England in order to escape the persecutions of the Anglican Church, the state church of England. Later when the Puritans under Cromwell acquired control of the Anglican Church, the old-line Anglicans felt safer out of England. They settled in Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas. But Puritan and Anglican in England agreed in this: both persecuted the Quakers, forcing them to seek refuge in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, seeking to escape the recurrent religious wars between Catholics and Protestants, settled in the central colonies of America. Dutch, German and French immigrants came in large numbers, some fleeing Catholic, others Protestant, persecution.

The second fact which prompted the writers of the Constitution to separate church and state was the glaring reality of what had happened in the American colonies. Though the Puritans sought respite from religious persecution, they did not thereby learn to grant religious liberty in their American colonies. In fact, Rhode Island was formed by men and women driven out of Massachusetts by religious persecutions. This example, writ large, is the history of religious groups in our colonial days.

Most colonies naturally sought to establish the European system of preferred or established churches, singling out some church, usually the Anglican Church, and giving it a privileged relationship with the government. Maryland alone favored the Catholic Church, but only for a brief period, the end coming because of pressure from England and also because the fourth Lord Baltimore was converted to Protestantism. Smaller sects resented the established churches in America just as in England. And the established churches sought and won economic and political privileges here as in Europe. There was continued bickering, which sometimes amounted to conflict, between the preferred church and the dissenting sects. Finally, Baptists, Quakers and Congregationalists took the lead in the agitation to separate church and state. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania began by setting up colonial, and later state, governments that would make no discrimination among the various religious groups. Franklin and Jefferson reflected the deliberate judgment of thoughtful Americans in their explicit statement that there was no other way of providing a basis for harmony than that of separation of church and state. So the constitutional fathers wrote into the Constitution the provision (Article 1 of the Bill of Rights) that no church should be established or favored by the law of this country.

Fanaticism Yields to Tolerance

This stricture has worked no hardship on American churches. And by American churches I do not mean churches that are restricted to America but those that have either developed or matured in terms of their experience in this country. Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and American Lutheran are American churches in this sense, though they have their brethren all over the world. Churches like these have had to face from the start the necessity of supporting and expanding their programs by voluntary contributions and efforts, and by free persuasion. They have been forced to build their schools and their churches, and to train their clergy on their own responsibility, paying the bills themselves from the first to the last cent. They have never known a time when they were the one church, but have always been one among other churches. Though this, at first, tended to fanaticism, when each one became strong enough to be sure of itself and its place, fanaticism gave way to religious toleration.

But the churches that had reached their full stature in terms of a European background had a hard time meeting the difficulties imposed on them by the principle of separation of church and state. As a matter of fact, the Anglican Church was barely able to survive the shock of disestablishment. It wasn't until this church became as truly an American church as the Methodist or Baptist that it began to grow to the powerful stature which it has since attained. But the Catholic Church had nearly fifteen hundred years of favored relationships with the state written into its history, during which time it had enjoyed the favor of the mightiest state powers in Europe. Historically speaking, it is easy to see why this church was not able, and has never been able, to accept the principle of separation of church and state. The doctrine and polity of the Catholic Church matured in Europe, and under historical circumstances where kings and rulers were willing to grant it the favored-church status.

The Catholic Church Loses 'Prestige'

The changes forced on the Catholic Church by the American principle of separation of church and state have been disturbingly practical. As a state church, it had enjoyed the security of an income paid by the state; here in America it was wholly dependent on voluntary contributions. As a state church, it had been in a position to influence if not control the growth and structure of educational facilities; here in America it was free to construct its own school system if it chose, but it had to foot the bill. As a state church, it felt free to form political parties and use its vast resources to secure the adoption of various kinds of social and economic programs; here in America such activity would have been suicidal. Perhaps the greatest change of all is summed up in the single word "prestige." As the state church it was *the* church; here in America, under the principle of equality, it was *a* church with just as many rights and privileges as the smallest religious sect in the country—but no more. Small wonder, then, that Catholic thinkers have never accepted the non-European principle of separation of church and state.

The strongest possible criticism of the American principle is the approved Catholic position as developed by Fathers Ryan and Millar in their interpretation, in the book, *The State and the Church,* of the papal encyclical already referred to: "The state should officially recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the commonwealth; accordingly it should invite the blessing and ceremonial participation of the church for certain important public functions, as the opening of legislative sessions, the erection of public buildings, etc., and delegate its officials to attend certain of the more important festival celebrations of the church; it should recognize and sanction the laws of the church; and it should protect the rights of the church and the religious as well as the other rights of the church's members" (p. 34). But what of other religions? Will they be tolerated? I quote again: "If these are carried on within the family, or in such an inconspicuous manner as to be an occasion neither of scandal nor of perversion to the faithful, they may properly be tolerated by the state" (p. 35). This is the clear answer of this authoritative Catholic publication.

The Mother of Discord

Three things need to be pointed out about this position. In the first place, it has no precedent in American history. It is as thoroughly un-American in historical antecedent and moral content as any principle could possibly be. In

the second place, it is precisely the position against which all non-Catholic Christian groups have protested from the very inception of the Protestant movement. Third, and referring not alone to religious precedent but to observable, historical fact, this position, where tried, has been the prolific mother of discord not only among religious groups but between the Catholic Church and the state. Let Italy, Mexico, France and Spain witness whether their relationship with the Catholic Church has been one of increasing or decreasing discord! Their records are plain. And so are the records of other countries, like England and Germany, in which other churches are the state churches. The singling out of some one church for civic favors inevitably leads the preferred church into conflict both with other religious groups and with the state. Therefore, when we remind our Catholic thinkers that we, in America, are proceeding on a principle which is peculiarly our own, and one which has the impressive support of all non-Catholic religious groups in America, we are talking in terms of historical fact.

We are not prepared to charge our Catholic friends with bigotry when they try to actualize here their ancient Catholic dream of union of church and state. But neither should they charge us with bigotry when we throw our united energy into blocking their efforts.

We cannot, we dare not, and we will not stand idly by and see any force, whether political or religious, tamper with and modify the existing American principle of separation of church and state. We believe the Taylor mission does precisely this and our opposition to it will wax and not wane until that mission is discontinued and the religious groups of this country once more meet as equals.

This Draft Is Despotism!

By Daniel Webster

MR CHAIRMAN: After the best reflection which I have been able to bestow on the subject of the bill before you, I am of the opinion that its principles are not warranted by any provision of the Constitution. . . . This bill . . . is an attempt to exercise the power of forcing free men of this country into the ranks of the army for the general purposes of the war, under color of a military service. . . . The services of the men to be raised under this act are not limited to those cases in which alone this government is entitled to the aid of the militia of the states. These cases are particularly stated in the Constitution, "To repel invasion, suppress insurrection or execute the laws." (Article I, Sec. VIII, No. 14.) But this bill has no limitation in this respect. The usual mode of legislating on this subject is abandoned. The only section which would have confined the service of the militia proposed to be raised within the United States has been stricken out.

This, then, Sir, is a bill for calling out the militia not according to its existing organization but by draft from new created classes; not merely for the purpose of repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection or executing the laws but for the general objects of war;—for defending ourselves or invading others as may be thought expedient, not for a sudden emergency or for a short time but for long stated periods. . . . What is this, Sir, but raising a standing army out of the militia by draft, and to be recruited by draft, in like manner, as often as occasions require?

It is a discussion, Sir, of the last importance. That measures of this nature should be debated at all in the councils of a free government is a cause of dismay. The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered and despotism embraced in its worst form.

I have risen on this occasion with anxious and painful emotions to add my admonitions to what has been said by others. Admonition and remonstrance, I am aware, are not acceptable strains. They are duties of unpleasant performance. But they are, in my judgment, the duties which the condition of a failing state imposes. They are duties which sink deep in his conscience who believes it probable that they may be the last services which he may be able to render to the government of his country. On the issue of this discussion, I believe the fate of this government may rest. Its duration is incompatible, in my opinion, with the existence of the measures in contemplation. A crisis has at last arrived, to which the course of things has long tended, and which may be decisive upon the happiness of present and of future generations. If there be anything important in the concerns of men, the considerations which fill the present critical hour are important.

Let Congress Think for Itself

It is time for Congress to examine and decide for itself. It has taken things on trust long enough. It has followed executive recommendation till there remains no hope of finding safety in that path. What is there, Sir, that makes it the duty of this people now to grant new confidence to the administration and to surrender their most important rights to its discretion?

Let us examine the nature and extent of the power which is assumed by the various military measures before us. In the present want of men and money, the secretary of war has proposed to Congress a military conscription. For the conquest of Canada the people will not enlist, and if they would, the treasury is exhausted and they could not be paid. Conscription is chosen as the most promising instrument both of overcoming reluctance to the service and of subduing the difficulties which arise from the deficiencies of the exchequer. The administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular army by compulsion. It contends that it may now take one out of every twenty-five men, and any part or the whole of the rest,

Editorial Note: This is the text of a speech, suppressed for nearly a hundred years, which Daniel Webster delivered in the House of Representatives on December 9, 1814, in opposition to a proposal for universal military conscription. Source, *The Letters of Daniel Webster*, edited by C. H. Van Tyne.

whenever its occasions require. Persons thus taken by force and put into an army may be compelled to serve there during the war or for life. They may be put on any service at home or abroad, for defense or for invasion, according to the will and pleasure of government. This power does not grow out of any invasion of the country, or even out of a state of war. It belongs to government at all times in peace as well as war, and is to be exercised under all circumstances according to its mere discretion. This, Sir, is the amount of the principle contended for by the secretary of war.

No Magna Carta to be Slaves

Is this, Sir, consistent with the character of a free government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, Sir, indeed it is not. The Constitution is libeled, foully libeled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasure and their own blood a Magna Carta to be slaves. Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents and parents from their children and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or the wickedness of government may engage it? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden which now for the first time comes forth with a tremendous and baleful aspect to trample down and destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Who will show me any constitutional injunction which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life or even life itself, not when the safety of their country and its liberties may demand the sacrifice, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous government may require it?

Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free government and that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty. An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free government. It is an attempt to show, by proof and argument, that we ourselves are subjects of despotism and that we have a right to chains and bondage, firmly secured to us and our children by the provisions of our government.

It has been the labor of other men at other times to mitigate and reform the powers of government by construction; *to support the rights of personal security by* every species of favorable and benign interpretation, and thus to infuse a free spirit into governments not friendly in their general structure and formation to public liberty. The supporters of the measures before us act on the opposite principle. It is their task to raise arbitrary powers by construction out of a plain written charter of national *liberty. It is their pleasing* duty to free us of the delusion, which we have fondly cherished, that we are the subjects *of a mild, free and limited government,* and to demonstrate by a regular chain of premises and conclusions that government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort and degree of misery than has been exercised by any civilized government, with a single exception, in modern times. . . .

A free constitution of government is to be construed upon free principles and every branch of its provisions is to receive such an interpretation as is full of its general spirit. No means are to be taken by implication, which would strike us absurdly if expressed. And what would have been more absurd than for this Constitution to have said that to secure the great blessings of liberty it gave to government an uncontrolled power of military conscription? Yet such is the absurdity which it is made to exhibit under the commentary of the secretary of war.

But it is said that it might happen that an army would not be raised by voluntary enlistment, in which case the power to raise an army would be granted in vain, unless they might be raised by compulsion. If this reasoning could prove anything it would equally show that whenever the legitimate powers of the Constitution should be so badly administered as to cease to answer the great ends intended by them, such new powers may be assumed or usurped, as an existing administration may deem expedient. This is a result of his own reasoning to which the secretary does not profess to go. But it is a true result. For if it is to be assumed that all powers were granted, which might by possibility become necessary, and that government itself is the judge of this possible necessity, then the powers of government are precisely what it chooses they should be.

If Conscription, Then Confiscation

Apply the same reasoning to any other power granted to Congress and test its accuracy by the result. Congress has power to borrow money. How is it to exercise this power? Is it confined to voluntary loans? There is no express limitation to that effect, and in the language of the secretary [of war] it might happen, indeed, it has happened, that persons could not be found willing to lend. Money might be borrowed then in any other mode. In other words, Congress might resort to a forced loan. It might take the money of any man by force, and give him in exchange exchequer notes or certificate of stock. Would this be quite constitutional? Sir, it is entirely within the reasoning of the secretary, and it is a result of his argument, outraging the rights of individuals in a far less degree than the practical consequences which he himself draws from it. A compulsory loan is not to be compared, *in point of enormity, with a compulsory military service.*

If the secretary of war has proved the right of Congress *to enact a law enforcing a draft of men out of the militia* into the regular army, he will at any time be able to prove quite as clearly that Congress has power to create a dictator. The arguments which have helped him in one case will equally aid him in the other. The same reason of a supposed or possible state necessity which is urged now may be repeated then with equal pertinency and effect.

Sir, in granting Congress the power to raise armies, the people have granted all the means which are ordinary and

usual, and which are consistent with the liberties and security of the people themselves, and they have granted no others. To talk about the unlimited power of the government over the means to execute its authority is to hold a language which is true only in regard to despotisms. The tyranny of arbitrary government consists as much in its means as in its ends, and it would be a ridiculous and absurd constitution which should be less cautious to guard against abuses in the one case than in the other. All the means and instruments which a free government exercises, as well as the ends and objects which it pursues, are to partake of its own essential character, and to be conformed to its genuine spirit. A free government with arbitrary means to administer it is a contradiction, a free government without adequate provisions for personal security is an absurdity, a free government with an uncontrolled power of military conscription is a solecism, at once the most ridiculous and abominable that ever entered into the head of man. . . .

In my opinion, Sir, the sentiments of the free population of this country are greatly mistaken here. The nation is not yet in a temper to submit to conscription. The people have too fresh and strong a feeling of the blessings of civil liberty to be willing thus to surrender it. You may talk to them as much as you please of the victory and glory to be obtained in the enemy's provinces. They will hold those objects in light estimation, if the means be a forced military service. You may sing to them the song of Canada conquests in all its variety, but they will not be charmed out of the remembrance of their substantial interests and true happiness. Similar pretenses, they know, are the graves in which the liberties of other nations have been buried and they will take warning.

Laws, Sir, of this nature can create nothing but opposition. If you scatter them abroad like the fabled serpents' teeth, they will spring up into armed men. A military force cannot be raised in this manner but by the means of a military force. If the administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription, it will find, if it ventures on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army. The government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail, and having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our government.

BOOKS

Men and Technology

TECHNOLOGY AND LABOR, A STUDY OF THE HUMAN PROBLEMS OF LABOR SAVING. *By Elliott Dunlap Smith in collaboration with Richmond Carter Nyman. Yale University Press, $2.50.*

THIS is a very detailed study of the effect of technological change on human relations in the textile industry. There is an endeavor to discover through inductive study of changes in a large number of factories how such readjustment may be brought about smoothly. Throughout the minute and somewhat repetitious study of the psychological factors of habit formation, the learning process and the time needed for change are stressed. The importance is also stressed of rapport established by fairness, frankness and friendliness on the part of management. It is assumed that the local factory has little choice about major technological changes such as the multiple loom system. The authors endeavor to face realistically the question of how installation of these technological changes is to be brought about.

Inasmuch as the installation of the new machinery inevitably involves a decrease in the number of employees and also a large degree of education of those retained, it was found that the non-replacement of those who had dropped out in the course of the regular labor turnover, the endeavor to find jobs for those let out and the very gradual change of technical equipment was the most satisfactory procedure. Any sudden change almost inevitably caused labor unrest. Through the whole process of installing new machines and readjusting relationships, the importance of direct and personal contact between management and labor is stressed. Factory bulletins and detailed instructions regarding the new plans should follow thorough understanding of the meaning and techniques of the changes contemplated.

The technical counselor coming in from the outside should merely give his specialized advice, not come between management and laborer. The authors feel that there has been far too much emphasis on technological changes as such and far too little on the new and more exacting task of management. The more complicated and interrelated the processes that go with the refinements of technology, the more exacting is the task of management and the more dependent upon such management the individual laborer becomes. His work is no longer the varied job of looking after his own loom but a specialized task connected with an increasing number of looms and related to the work of many other specialists.

Several fundamental questions are raised to which no answer is attempted. For one thing, the growing technical complexity of the textile factory calls for men trained in more thoroughgoing ways than were many of the former practical men who rose to managership from the ranks of labor. As technically trained university men enter the ranks of management, class difference becomes a problem. Again, the fact of the rise of labor organization is cautiously and inconclusively touched on. It is implied that the need for the union and for the coming in of the labor organizer is a mark of management's failure to give sympathetic and intelligent attention to the human relations in the factory.

W. E. GARRISON.

Trusting the Power of Truth

GANDHI'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY. *By S. K. George. Foreword by Sir Radhakrishnan. George Allen & Unwin, London, 3/6.*

THE THESIS of this little book is that the fact of Christ is a challenge to the exclusive claims of Christianity. That Gandhi is living out the Christian ideal and that he has demonstrated that the Sermon on the Mount can be practical politics, while the Christian church as a whole has turned aside from the central teaching of Christ that love is the law of life, are some of the points elaborated by the au-

thor. Gandhi's method of *satyagraha* (literally, holding on to Truth) or non-violent resistance rests on the belief that the universe is based on truth or love and that man partakes of the nature of this universe. In trying to resist and overcome evil by this method there is bound to be unmerited suffering, but Truth will ultimately win. The cross of Christ is the supreme example of such assault and victory of love over evil. Christianity has however made of it a creed, a doctrine. It is necessary to bring it back from the realm of creed and dogma and set it up again as a working principle of life, still mighty to overthrow entrenched evil and still possible to be lived out.

This is what has been achieved by Gandhi, who does not profess himself to be a Christian but in whom the central Christian principle of the cross has again incarnated itself. In the struggle with the British for India's independence, it is this method that he applies. By trial and error he is developing a technique for the adoption of *satyagraha* not merely by disciplined individuals but even by the masses. The way of the Buddha and of Socrates, the way supremely illustrated by the cross of Jesus of Nazareth is for the first time applied by Gandhi and his followers to the perplexing problem of the relations between nations. This constitutes a challenge to the Christianity of today.

The chapter on Christian missions in India, though it has no direct bearing on the subject of the book, throws light on how an Indian Christian in living touch with the best in the culture of his country reacts to the methods of Western missionary approach to non-Christian religions.

The message of the book cannot be lightly set aside by those who profess to follow Christ and who are inspired by his spirit and teaching to work for world peace and the Kingdom of God on earth.

P. Oomman Philip.

Books in Brief

Familiar Organ Classics, 51 Selections by Famous Composers, *with registration for Hammond organ by Virginia Carrington Thomas. D. Appleton-Century, $2.00.*

Most of the simpler old favorites are here—Träumerei, Melody in F, Consolation in E, Schubert's Serenade and the pieces usually found in their company—and also a considerable number not quite so universally known. An excellent collection for the not very advanced organist, or for any organist in his moments of relaxation. The important point is: "with registration for the Hammond organ." This electrical instrument has its own distinctive substitute for the standard stops. The registration will help even the practiced organist who is unaccustomed to the Hammond to find his way around. It is a wonderfully interesting instrument for the home and for many other places. The reviewer does not need to say what he thinks of it for churches. He is reviewing the book, not the organ. It is a good book.

The Story of the Pacific. *By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $3.00.*

The word "story," in book titles, has become a perfectly respectable synonym for "history." With Van Loon it goes back to its old meaning. His material is historical fact, but his mood is that of the raconteur whose first care is to hold the interest of his audience by all the legitimate tricks of the storyteller—variety of matter, change of pace in narrative, lively and informal style, and a copious infusion of the subjective element. The reader finishes knowing almost as much about Van Loon as about the Pacific. But he will know a lot about the Pacific too, for there is plenty of historical and geographical information here and, though the author makes a stirring tale of it, he does not romanticize the theme. The ground covered—or should one say the water?—includes Polynesian archeology, the discovery and exploration of islands and coasts, the exploitation of the Pacific lands by the Western powers and the results for both. Modern Pacific problems are not seriously discussed. There are pictures of course—Van Loon's own characteristic drawings.

Books Received

The Witness of the Churches of the Congregational Order: Papers exchanged by Baptists, Congregational-Christians and Disciples in 1940. Edited by Harlan Paul Douglass. Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity, Box 556, Anderson, Ind., 35 cents. Dr. Douglass not only edited this book but organized the exchange of papers of which this is a partial record. Fifteen members of the three denominations were grouped in five three's to each of which was assigned a topic: the faith, the church, the sacraments, the ministry, and polity. The volume would have been even more interesting if it could have included the written discussion of the papers which ensued among the writers. As it stands, it is an informing statement, not of officially ratified views—for no individuals are authorized to speak officially for these congregationally independent bodies—but of the positions of certain members of the three groups on doctrines and practices which are central in any consideration of possible union.

Into Abundance. By Soren K. Ostergaard. Willett, Clark & Co., $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

China Rediscovers Her West. Edited by Yi-fang Wu and Frank W. Price. Friendship Press, $1.00. To quote the phrase with which a popular news broadcaster closes his daily summary, "this is the news to this moment" about China as she carries on the work of rebuilding in one region while destruction by foreign invasion continues in another. China has gone west. The moving of the University of Nanking and Ginling College to Chengtu is typical. The editors of this book are connected with these two institutions. The contributors, about twenty, include both Chinese and foreign authorities. They write primarily from the standpoint of Christian missions, but missionary work in China is a very comprehensive subject. This account of China's rediscovery of her own west will be, for many Occidentals, the means of discovering the spirit of the new China.

The Isle of a Hundred Harbors. By Olive G. Gibson. Bruce Humphries, $2.50. Cuba is that island. The author, who has lived there many years as a teacher in a mission school, describes the geography, the people, and the fauna and flora, and gives a brief survey of the history of Cuba. Her chief interest is in telling how promptly they respond to friendly attitudes and how worthy they are of our respect and good will. The book is an excellent introduction for prospective visitors and a help to sympathetic understanding.

Seeing Is Believing. By C. W. Baker, Jr. Standard Pub. Co., $1.00. Seventy "chalk-talks" with illustrations and outlines and an introduction describing materials and methods.

Chinaman's Chance. By No-yong Park. Meador Pub. Co., $2.00. The author's forty years have been about evenly divided between China and America. His education (Ph.D., Harvard) is chiefly American. Near the end of this anecdotal autobiography he queries whether he is the better for having "acquired all the vices and virtues of the civilized men of the West." The answer is chiefly negative. After some years of lecturing on Far Eastern affairs (which are not extensively discussed in this volume), he is now ready to retire. "Having shaken off most of the costly vices of civilized life, I now live, except during the three months of the year when I have to make a living, a carefree life of leisure and freedom, go where I like and do what I will in a way that few men, save some millionaires and those who are on federal relief, can do." A real achievement!

Time Exposure, The Autobiography of William Henry Jackson. Putnam, $3.50. (To be reviewed.)

CORRESPONDENCE

What the 'Witnesses' Really Preach

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: John Haynes Holmes, in his article, "The Case of Jehovah's Witnesses," is duly concerned about the several manifestations of mob violence at the expense of the followers of Judge Rutherford. With his fundamental thesis all right-thinking Christians must agree. But while we are bound, as Christians, to abstain from and abhor the violence that is being visited upon these people, we must nevertheless be very careful lest our sympathies carry us beyond our mark, as Dr. Holmes' sympathies have quite clearly carried him. ("The only way to understand why Jehovah's Witnesses are so unpopular is to go back in history and remind ourselves why the early Christians were so unpopular. . . . What about the churches? Are they going to spring to the defense of Jehovah's Witnesses, their fellow Christians?"—Dr. Holmes). For while we must seek to protect the Witnesses from mob violence, we ought nevertheless to remain objective about them and their teachings. The underdog is a common object of sympathy; but just because he is being beaten doesn't prove him right.

Jehovah's Witnesses, however sincere they may be, are the avowed enemies of all organized religions, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and others, and of all organized governments, including our own government in this its hour of great need. The Witnesses are not content to go about preaching their own doctrines affirmatively, as they most certainly have a right to do in this free country; but they insist upon intruding themselves in any and every kind of forum, even into the privacy of homes, with the most offensive and untruthful attacks upon everyone and everything else. One need not sympathize with this sort of thing, however much he may deplore their wanton persecution, especially at this time when national unity and respect for the fundamental beliefs of religion are so essential to our weathering the storm that is fast gathering about us.

If anyone doubts this arraignment of the message and methods of the Witnesses, I urge him to order the Jehovah's Witnesses' booklets entitled *The Crisis, Cure, Uncovered, Cause of Death, Escape to the Kingdom,* and *Intolerance,* from The Watch Tower, 117 Adams St., Brooklyn, N. Y. (5c each). Here are a few sample quotations from these booklets:

"The United States and Britain . . . claim to be Christian, and they form the chief part of the realm called 'Christendom,' but, in fact, Satan is their invisible ruler and god. . . .

"Today there is no true patriotism among the rulers of the nation. It is now impossible for the people to elect men to public office and to expect them to enact just laws and to administer the affairs of the government for the general welfare. . . .

"America and Britain are the leading nations of the realm, called 'Christendom.' . . . There has been more hypocrisy practiced and more blood unrighteously shed in these nations than in any other under the sun. . . .

"The American government has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It cannot endure. Together with all other nations, it soon shall fall.

". . . the clergymen, both Catholic and Protestant, do not represent Jehovah God and Christ, but they do represent and serve Satan the Devil. . . .

" 'Christendom' is that religious element that fraudulently claims to represent Christ but which in fact is a part of Satan's organization. . . .

"But why do I state that complete relief will follow the downfall of 'Christendom,' including the American government? I answer, Because Jehovah God says so." (All from *The Crisis.)*

"Religion is the deceptive and subtle scheme of Satan the Devil, and was brought forward and employed by the devil to deceive men and to reproach Jehovah God." *(Cure)*

"The record of Protestantism is that of inquisition, persecution of the true followers of Christ Jesus, and prosecution of cruel wars of conquest, dabbling in the political affairs of the nations, and of teaching and practicing false doctrines that are defamatory of the name of Jehovah God and of Christ Jesus. . . .

"The greatest crime that the Jews committed was to claim to serve God and at the same time hypocritically practice a satanic religion in the name of God." *(Cause of Death)*

"Satan's organization oppresses the people, and at the same time the preachers or clergymen tell the people that the nation of America and other like nations rule by divine right, are Christian nations, and hence exercise power in harmony with the will of God. For this, amongst other reasons, the clergy, while claiming to represent God, in fact represent the Devil and his organization." *(The Crisis)*

". . . . the Catholic organization, headed by its mighty pontiff, the multitudinous divisions of the Protestant organizations headed by their wise and eloquent clergy, and the Jews led by their philosophical rabbis . . . [are] an unholy alliance. . . . Satan's is the master mind that has organized a conspiracy against Jehovah and His faithful witnesses, and he then forms an unholy alliance. . . ." *(Escape to the Kingdom)*

"The Roman Catholic hierarchy is not God's organization and does not represent God and Christ, but is an organization put forward by God's enemy, the Devil, for the purpose of turning the people away from Jehovah God." *(Uncovered)*

"For many centuries the Catholic hierarchy has operated the most cruel, wicked and defamatory organization that has ever been on the earth. They employ coercion and the gag, and any other unlawful means necessary to accomplish their cruel purposes. When they want someone killed they make the killer believe that the priests can fully absolve him from all wrong and clear him from all punishment, either here or hereafter." *(Intolerance—* quoted from Congressional Hearings on H. R. 6986, 73rd Congress)

EDWARD J. HEFFRON.

Executive Secretary, National Council of Catholic Men,
National Catholic Welfare Conference,
Washington, D. C.

Obey or Get Out!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: John Haynes Holmes (bless him), true to form, overdoes all his arguments in your last magazine on Jehovah's Witnesses. These people should not be persecuted and they mean well, but they are a nuisance. Several homes have been broken up in our own city to my knowledge when the husband or wife of one of them simply can endure their persistent nagging no longer. In a nearby town a fine family, husband and wife and four children, have a home broken by these people who convinced the wife that her husband and children are to be killed by fire and sword unless they believe with her. They somehow should be obliged to obey the rules of our country or get out.

Quincy, Mass. MARY E. LANE.

A Campaign Document

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: From beginning to end your issue of July 17 is an admirable campaign document for the higher Americanism and the nobler pacifism. The editorial, "No Conscription!" is one voice against a hundred in the present hue and cry, but what a reasonable and persuasive voice it is! John Haynes Holmes' well-informed article on the shame of Kennebunk, Me., and other offenses against Jehovah's Witnesses, is a statement I had been waiting for for weeks, confident as I was that the newspapers had failed to give us the real issues involved. Frederick K. Stamm's "One Preacher Thinks Out Loud" reminds us afresh that no American Christian need feel too lonely in these days for thinking otherwise about war than do the men of press and politics and street corner. Thank God for The Christian Century in this summer of our discontent!

Augusta, Me. JOHN W. BRUSH.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

City Machines Run Convention

Chicago and Jersey City Bosses Hold Sway—Peace and Aid-Allies Advocates Clash—Chicago Churches Advance

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, July 22.—Probably most readers of this correspondence have already learned that, during the past week, the Democratic national convention was held in Chicago, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was "drafted" as Democratic nominee for a third term as President in a "push-over" session, and that Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture, was chosen as nominee for vice-president in one of the wildest and bitterest sessions ever conducted by the traditionally noisy Democratic party. I should find a good deal of satisfaction in what happened except for the prominent part played in the proceedings by such heads of notorious political machines as Edward J. Kelly of Chicago and Frank Hague of New Jersey. If one could only be sure that the Republicans, if entrusted with power, would clean out such malodorous elements! But some of us who live in Chicago remember the days of Republican power, and the stench of the administrations of Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson and Governor Len Small.

* * *

Name Calling Over Peace Plank

Perhaps no one takes the platform very seriously. The most important thing here, as at Philadelphia, was the choice of candidates in view of their utterances, and, in the case of Mr. Roosevelt, his past policies. But certainly one of the most interesting aspects of the convention was the behavior of pressure groups, especially those concerned with America's attitude toward the war, in endeavoring to get the resolutions committee to incorporate their points of view in the platform. Both of them got some of what they wanted, but neither got all. The isolationists and pacifists made common cause in an effort to get a "keep America out of this war" plank, while the "Defend America by Aiding the Allies Committee" sought a plank guaranteeing aid to Great Britain. Pro and con full page advertisements appeared in some of the newspapers. One wishes that the discussion of this vital problem could proceed without the use of such emotionally charged terms as "interventionists and warmongers" by one group, and "fifth columnists and pro-nazis" by the other. But perhaps that is too much to wish. Certainly there was plenty of name calling and attributing of unworthy motives in the discussions that took place.

* * *

Modernize Des Plaines Camp Meeting

The Methodists have learned how to turn the old-fashioned camp meeting to modern uses. The 81st session of the annual camp meeting and summer assembly on the banks of the Des Plaines river is now in full swing. Space will not permit to tell of all the activities, but on Sunday, July 7, the session was formally opened with a corporate communion service conducted by Bishop Ernest Lynn Waldorf of Chicago. Since then all sorts of meetings have been held, and various groups, clerical and lay, men, women and young people, have been in session. The old-fashioned revivalism is pretty well gone; instead there are educational programs, discussion groups, lectures, services of worship and recreational activities. The 80th anniversary of the Des Plaines camp meeting and the 100th anniversary of the Rock River conference were both celebrated yesterday, July 21. At an early session Bishop A. Frank Smith of Houston, Texas, paid tribute to the newfound Methodist unity. The Methodist Women's Institute met Wednesday through Friday, July 10-12, with methods of administering women's work in the newly organized women's division of Christian Service as a chief subject of discussion. Altogether a very successful and useful program is being conducted.

* * *

New Year Book Reveals Church Progress

The 1940 Year Book of the Chicago church federation, of which Mr. Walter R. Mee is the efficient secretary, provides a mine of information with regard to religious, social service, civic, health and community agencies in Chicago. Protestantism and Catholicism, the book shows, about equally divide the 3,000,000 in Chicago who are listed as members or adherents of Christian churches. Most of the larger Protestant bodies cooperate through the Chicago church federation. The program of the federation itself shows extraordinary breadth and variety. More than 500 men and women are active in committees, commissions and departments of the federation which deal with such interests as evangelism, world friendship, interracial relations, public education and social service. A happy foreword by the president, Rev. Ralph Wakefield, pastor of Irving Park Methodist Church, introduces the volume.

* * *

And So Forth

Very appropriately, Professor Emeritus Edgar J. Goodspeed, son of Dr. Thomas W. Goodspeed, who succeeded in securing a pledge of $600,000 toward the establishment of the University of Chicago, was the speaker at a luncheon in the Chicago Club, July 9, opening the 50th anniversary celebration of the university.

Dr. Alice G. Masaryk, daughter of the first president of the Czechoslovak republic and now honorary president of Masaryk Memorial Center, Chicago, is leading a campaign to secure funds to assist Czechoslovak students in this country to finish their studies. These young people receive fellowships to study in America from the Czech government, but since their country has been occupied by Germany they have been cut off from their homes and have lost their subventions. Interested friends are asked to communicate with Mrs. C. E. Proshek, 5100 Second Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Alexander and Maverick Cited

Honored for Service to Human Welfare —Atlanta Pastorate Spans 58 Years —Klan Trials Force Cleanup

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, July 15.—Dr. Will W. Alexander, executive director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, recently resigned his post with the Federal Farm Security Administration. From this position he has rendered notable service against the nation's toughest economic problem—sharecropping. Now he has accepted the vice-presidency of the Julius Rosenwald fund, which keeps his talents for the deep south. Dr. Alexander's social vision and deep passion for human brotherhood have made him a force for good in many fields. The work of his Interracial Commission, which came into being during race riots in Atlanta near the turn of the century, has beneficently expanded into all fields of religious, social and cultural life. Dr. Alexander recently received special honor as a "southerner rendering distinguished service for human welfare." Mayor Maverick of San Antonio was given a similar citation by the Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

* * *

Minister Completes 58 Years At Friendship Church

The historic Friendship Baptist Church of Atlanta, one of the oldest Negro churches in the country, recently celebrated the 58th anniversary of the beginning of the pastorate of Dr. E. R. Carter, its minister who was born a slave. This remarkable ministry has rightly received wide recognition. Its tenure is perhaps the longest of any church in the south. Dr. Carter has been a social force in many movements beyond his parish and has stood for racial understanding, cooperation and Christian good will through his long career.

* * *

Seminary President Links Eternity and Poverty

Dr. J. McDowell Richards, president of Columbia (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga., urged a greater regard for the social conditions of people in southern communities by the ministers of the churches, in a report to the Presbyterian General Assembly at Chattanooga, Tenn., May 21. "Preachers who are greatly alarmed about the souls of their people but indifferent to their poverty, misery and insecurity," he said, "will not long receive respect." He pointed out to the assembly that as vital as the doctrines of personal salvation and eternal life are, they rest for validity on a way of life that respects the sacredness of personality.

* * *

Klan Exposé Leads To Cleanup

The Ku Klux Klan, always under suspicion during times of violation of civil liberties, floggings and other acts of violence,

has been "on the spot" in Atlanta for many weeks while a number of cases have been on trial ensuing from an outbreak of lashings and intimidations of citizens in this city and its suburbs. The imperial wizard, James A. Colescott, struggling to lift the face of the fast falling klan, ordered the members of the organization to unmask. He raided the hall of the East Point, Ga., klan and took their charter away. This outfit has seen several members go on trial and some convictions have been obtained. Atlanta was shocked into action when one victim of a flogging mob died. This brought to light charges of floggings at frequent intervals in the eastern section of the city and suburbs. Atlanta law enforcement officers now claim to have put down mob activities.

* * *

Churches Bear Part in European Relief

Churches in the southeast are supporting the Red Cross drive for war relief and the care of refugees. Appeals are made each Sunday from many pulpits. The Southern Baptist Convention, in recent annual session in Baltimore, formed a special committee to seek ways and means of meeting an urgent appeal from Great Britain to assist the British Baptist Foreign Mission Society in caring for a large number of missionaries and mission stations in all parts of the world. American Baptists, North and South, were asked for $250,000.

* * *

And So Forth

Methodists in Georgia and Florida are highly pleased with the dynamic leadership of their new bishop, Dr. Arthur James Moore, recently transferred from Texas. Bishop Moore served in the Pacific coast area and in the Orient before coming to the southeast.

The University Center, recently described by Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman as "the most important educational project ever launched in the south," is growing into a reality in Atlanta. A campaign for funds to endow the great educational center, which combines the academic resources of Georgia Tech, Emory University, the University of Georgia and Agnes Scott College for Women and creates the south's foremost graduate school, is making progress. The goal is $5,000,000.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Rural Life Essay Contest

The Christian Rural Fellowship, New York, has organized an essay contest on the subject: "What Are the Characteristics of a Christian Rural Community?" Three prizes are being offered of $100, $50 and $25. The contest is open to all interested persons. This includes not only professional religious workers, but laymen and laywomen. The closing date of the contest is Nov. 15, 1940. Complete details outlining the scope of the subject and the conditions of the contest may be had by writing to the Christian Rural Fellowship, 156 Fifth Ave., New York city.

Plan Two Institutes On Worship

The Federal Council's committee on worship has arranged for institutes on worship to be held at Northwestern University, Aug. 4-9, and at Chautauqua, N. Y., Aug. 4-16.

War Brings Boom To Burma Trade

Rangoon Port Handles Supplies for China—Opinion Divided on Empire Policy—Hindu-Moslem Riots

(Air Mail Correspondence from Burma)

RANGOON, July 1.—Burma, once regarded as off the beaten track of world communications, is fast becoming an important crossroads in the new and changing east. This land of 14,000,000 inhabitants, formerly a province of British India but since 1937 having a separate political status, now provides one of the main airports for Asiatic traffic. British, French and Dutch planes until recently stopped on regular schedules from east and west. The China National Aviation Corporation uses Rangoon as the western terminus of its Chungking route. At the moment a large new airport is under construction here.

Other developments are characteristic of the new place Burma is gaining in Asiatic communications. Within the past year [deleted by the censor] was opened at Rangoon. With the closing of the Pacific ports to free China, Rangoon has become a very important "back door" to Chungking.* A new all-weather road has been completed from Burma to China's western capital and some considerable progress has been made in extending the China railway from Kunming towards the Burma railway terminus at Lashio. One further evidence of Burma's important position in communications is the recent installation of a new broadcasting equipment at Rangoon. Radio listeners from as far away as America have written to the broadcasting station here reporting on reception of Rangoon programs.

[*The door was closed by Britain on July 15.—Editor.]

* * *

Opinion Divided on Empire Policy

Gray painted ships in the harbor, some interruptions in mail service from the west, and certain price changes—these have been perhaps the most noticeable outward effects of the European war on this relatively quiet corner of a troubled world. Except for certain precautions against aliens, normal peacetime conditions prevail. A new phase began this past month, however, with the inauguration of trial blackouts in Rangoon.

Popular opinion on the war among the Burmese people varies all the way from ardent support of the empire to the leftist position which aims at making political capital out of the situation. A recent meeting of the "Freedom Bloc" in the Rangoon city hall under the leadership of Dr. Ba Maw, premier of Burma in 1937-39, took an intransigent stand on independence. Prominent in this leftist group is a vigorous nationalist party known as Thakins ("Masters") in whose assemblies the hammer and sickle are often seen. Leaders of this Thakin party have recently been in India in conference with Congress leaders.

* * *

Authorities Concerned Over Hindu-Moslem Riots

Among the 400,000 inhabitants of Ran-

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goon a large percentage are Indians. They have a vigorous and enterprising spirit and have penetrated all areas of Rangoon life from coolie work to that of merchant, professional man and university professor. Economic competition between Indians and Burmans in Rangoon and throughout Burma lay at the root of the serious riots between these two peoples in 1938-39.

Of more recent date, however, the Indians themselves have been at each other's throats over the Hindu-Moslem question. Within the past year there have been three outbreaks, caused in each instance by a local incident setting off a general conflict. In one case it was an isolated murder; in another it was the throwing of a bottle at a religious procession. An irresponsible hooligan element is generally the instigator of these attacks.

Leaders of both Hindu and Moslem communities are at a loss to know how to forestall the mischief of these troublemakers. Part of the trouble is economic. These men are without work and aim to make quick profit from the reckless looting for which a riot offers opportunity. In an endeavor to stave off future outbreaks, a permanent joint committee of Hindu and Moslem leaders has been organized. Also the government is strictly curtailing processions which are likely to lead to incidents.

* * *

Oxford Group Holds Asian Assembly

Coming from places as far distant as Tokyo, Bombay, Northwest Frontier, Singapore, Chungking and Calcutta, leaders of "Moral Rearmament" in Asia met in Rangoon for an assembly, May 9-19. Among those present were Chiang Chao-Hu, secretary to the minister of education at Chungking, K. N. Ahmed, president of the Bengal students' federation, Tsuneo Tajima of Tokyo, and the Bishop of Rangoon.

The keynote of the assembly was: "The Return to God." At the very time when the Low Countries were being invaded and Chungking was being bombed representatives from Britain and Denmark, China and Japan, India and Burma were discovering in their relationships with each other the quality of good will and understanding adequate for the new reconstruction. Such a spirit, the natural result of people's turning to God in honest repentance and daring obedience to his will, is the hope, they feel, of a new east and a new world beyond the present tragedy.

While the representatives of "Moral Rearmament" were in Rangoon, they were given opportunities to tell public leaders of the rise of this new spirit. The mayor of Rangoon received some of the delegates. The executives of the Rangoon University Students' Union, an influential political as well as student organization, entertained a number of them. Leaders of the Karen people, the second most numerous race in Burma, arranged a special dinner for them. And the Chinese vice-minister of foreign affairs gave a dinner reception.

* * *

Buddhists and Moslems Share Day of Prayer

May 26, designated by King George as a special day of prayer in the empire, saw people in Burma flocking to mosques, temples, pagodas, churches, and to a special convocation at the Rangoon Cathedral.

LEONARD B. ALLEN.

Air Raids Spread Over British Isles

Britain Prepares to Ward Off Invasion —Military Necessity Required Attack on French Navy

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, July 9.—Night after night enemy aircraft have crossed the coast from more directions than one. Twice so far they have crossed in the daylight. The day has yielded more victims from the civilians. In some of these attacks a large number of planes took part. A number were brought down, five on one night, three on another. The damage done has not been large and encouragement is found in the success of the blackout and in the excellent cooperation between the defense forces, the anti-aircraft guns, the searchlights and the fighter machines. On the other side every night our bombing machines go over Germany. On Monday, July 1, a strong attack was delivered upon Kiel. Every day a long list is given of objectives reached by these attackers. It is early yet to report upon the strength of the defenses provided for civilians, but the "Anderson Shelters" have proved their value already, and the A.R.P. workers, who have been waiting and training since the war began, have given aid at once in dealing with casualties and fires. The warnings are not given in any district till the enemy machines are plainly drawing near, so the interruption to labor is reduced to a minimum.

* * *

Battle of Britain Preparations Under Way

Before these words are read the battle may have begun. The choice of zero hour is not left to us. It can be reported however on authority that preparations for every and any event are being made. Here are some of the figures provided on July 8. The nine army divisions brought back from Dunkirk have been reorganized and are now thoroughly equipped. The other divisions at home are in full strength. The army is receiving 7,000 men a day. In addition there are now a million members of the local defense volunteers. Further, there are the dominion forces from Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and large detachments of Czechs, Dutch, Norwegians, and the members of the new French Legion. It is recognized that the first line of defense is held by the navy and air force. The navy has certainly not been idle. It has made transport difficult through persistent and continuous sowing of mines. The production of planes per month is double the number that were provided when this country first worked on a war basis. There is certainly no sign of panic; indeed the mood would be rather one of relief if the battle were to begin. It will be an ordeal but our people are not unprepared. The utmost confidence is placed in Mr. Churchill, minister of defense, who will coordinate all the forces of the nation.

* * *

War to Prevent Complete Triumph of Evil

It is sometimes supposed that the condemnation of the nazi system is only a subsidiary argument to support the case of the nation against Germany, and it is lightly dismissed as a matter of ideology. That is a misreading of the mind of this people today. The strength of their resistance lies in their sincere belief that something more is at stake than a struggle for supremacy. Professor G. M. Trevelyan, the historian, has written words which are a faithful reading of what is in our mind:

"Napoleon's France stood for many of the higher aspirations of art and letters and civilizations as ends in themselves. Hitler's Germany gives to all forms of human endeavor—literature, religion, science—no leave to exist except as slaves of state power. I am, therefore, not surprised that several thoughtful men whom I know, who had doubts about our participation in the war of 1914-18, have no doubts about resisting Hitler today. It is not propaganda, it is the deadly truth, that this is a war to prevent the complete triumph of evil."

* * *

Attack on French Navy A 'Tragic Necessity'

For days our people had had one anxious thought at the back of their minds: What would become of the French navy? When on Thursday Mr. Churchill gave his memorable account of the attack upon the French fleet at Oran, he treated it as all our people have treated it, as a tragic necessity. It has been disguised from the French public that the French commander was offered as an alternative that the ships could be demobilized in the West Indies. There was another alternative, the one offered by the Germans. The value of this rested on a confidence, which nobody here has, that the promise that this fleet would not be used by the conqueror would be kept. We know what such a promise is worth. And at the moment there is no power in the world which could insist that it should be kept. There was no other way than that taken. We are left completely alone in Europe, but the end is not yet.

* * *

Canon Hodgson Raised To Bishopric

Many Americans will learn with interest that Canon Hodgson is to be the Bishop of Monmouth. He once held a chair in the General Theological Seminary in New York. His excellent little book on the doctrine of grace was delivered, I think, as lectures there. Canon Hodgson will bring to his new office a great record as scholar, lecturer and editor who has given to the Faith and Order movement an enthusiasm and wisdom of inestimable value. Since the war began he has won a remarkable response to his lectures delivered in Oxford.

* * *

Notes of Religion and The Churches

The archbishops have earnestly commended to us the practice of halting at noon to say a brief prayer; in this way we shall lift up our hearts together to God.

Mention may be made of the morning broadcast which precedes the 8 o'clock news. The speaker is not named. He talks for four minutes under the title "Thought for Today." Everyone knew when Rev. W. H. Elliott spoke, for his voice cannot be mistaken, but who the others were we cannot be sure; it is stated that among them were a medical psychologist and a cartoonist who is also a lay preacher.

On Thursday this week, July 4, Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, celebrates its anniversary. It has close associations with America. The tower was built by friends in America and is called the "Lincoln Tower."

* * *

And So Forth

The many friends in America of Mr. Hubert Peet, editor of the *Friend*, will be glad to hear of his recovery from an operation for appendicitis.

The churches in many parts of the country are accepting heartily the invitation to help the committees which have been formed to cheer the lives of industrial workers, many of them far from their homes and working long hours. The churches will cooperate with the chief welfare officer in each city.

We are to drink less tea; the allowance is to be two ounces a head per week, an amount which is a little less than the average consumption. Margarine too is soon to be rationed; at the same time restaurants are to make simpler provision. We are in general to live harder. It is explained that there is no shortage at present, but we must spare our shipping for other purposes.

Unemployment figures are again down. The total of 766,85 for June 17 was 582,744 less than for June 12, 1939. The reduction is general but greatest in building and distributive trades.

The plans for removing children between 5 and 16 across the seas are being carried forward as quickly as possible. The sympathy shown in the U.S.A. no less than in the dominions has won the gratitude of our people.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Cleveland Methodists Protest 'Coward' Slur

When the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* included pacifists in an editorial dealing with public enemies, and referred to them as cowards, the Cleveland district Methodist conference sent a resolution to the paper which said: "We solemnly resent the implication that we who fight for peace are to be classed with nazis and communists, whose doctrines we utterly repudiate. The editorial challenges the courage of a thousand picked men and women representing 8,000,000 members of the Methodist denomination who recently, at Atlantic City, voted: 'We stand upon this ground, that the Methodist Church, although making no attempt to bind the consciences of its individual members, will not officially endorse, support or participate in war.'"

Mt. Union Professor Charges Pacifism Caused Dismissal

Failure to renew the contract of Dr. Carl Soule, professor of New Testament since 1934 at Mount Union College, Alliance, O., has brought charges from the student paper and other sources that the Methodist institution dropped the teacher because the trustees believed him too pacifistic and too radical in his social views. Dr. Soule, in commenting on his dismissal, says that "administrative officials sometimes find themselves unhappily located between trustee sentiment and their own private judgment," intimating that this is one of those cases in which trustee pressure has prevailed.

Conscription Stirs Lively Debate

Rival Groups Discuss Draft—President Urged to Lead Peace Prayers—Youth Defenders Speak

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, July 22.—Saying that "the successful defense of the United States must take account of military facts as they exist today," 189 prominent educational leaders, representing almost every large university in the country, last week gave wholehearted endorsement to "universal training in peace and universal service in war, as embodied in such bills as the Burke-Wadsworth bill and similar proposals now before Congress."

At the same time the Committee on Militarism in Education of New York issued a statement signed by more than 240 leading Americans, including many distinguished educators, religious leaders, writers, professional and business people, signifying their unqualified opposition to peacetime military conscription.

The executive committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation also released a resolution, which was presented to the congressional committee by J. N. Sayre, which stated: "We believe that the Burke-Wadsworth bill is a form of Hitlerism being pressed on the American people by high-power propaganda under the label of national defense. It is a fifth column of fascism which we urge your committee and Congress to defeat." The Civil Liberties Union decried its menace to freedom, saying, "Civil liberties not only of minorities but of all citizens will be threatened by the national defense program and the establishment of conscription."

* * *

Urge President to Issue Call to Prayer

Although fully realizing the near hopelessness of the present war situation, some groups in the city still put hope in prayer to God. William H. Handforth, a layman in the Bedford Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, was instrumental in forwarding a petition for national prayer with 5,000 signatures to President Roosevelt, Vice-President Garner and Speaker Bankhead. The church federation office sent the petitions to all the churches and returns continue to come in. The petition read: "We, the undersigned citizens of our beloved United States, having faith in God and the unfailing power of prayer, urge you, as our chief executive, to issue a proclamation calling the nation to prayer and repentance; seeking divine favor and guidance at this time which appears to be the most crucial not only for our own country but for the world."

In Brooklyn, also, a special committee of the board of directors and the commission on international justice and good will of the Brooklyn church and mission federation, headed by Mrs. Owen Brown, has initiated a "Prayer for Peace" movement that has met with gratifying response from many of the borough's leading churches and institutions. The chapel of the Central Y.M.C.A., recently dedicated, has been

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A helpful guide to such as have become confused in their conception of right and wrong by the radical philosophies and the pseudo-scientific theories which have invaded our schools and our literature during the last several years. It is written with pungence and a sense of humor that makes reading it a real delight.

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PSYCHOLOGY SERVING RELIGION
RICHARD D. HOLLINGTON

This practical book presents a picture of physical, mental, moral, and spiritual elements making up character and conduct. During the author's thirty years in the pastorate he maintained a consulting clinic for the benefit of persons in need of guidance and comfort. In this book he shares with his readers the rich knowledge he gleaned during those and subsequent years as pastoral consultant.

$2.00

HEALTH FOR MIND AND SPIRIT
W. L. NORTHRIDGE

Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead in his Foreword to this book commends it to "all who exercise a ministry of mental health, preventive or therapeutic, or both." To such it offers a constructive technique, and a thoughtful reading of its pages should lead to an increased cooperation between the Christian ministry and the medical profession.

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made available for daily intercession for peace. Good Shepherd Lutheran Church, of which Dr. William F. Sunday is pastor, calls its parish to prayer to the sound of church bells. Other churches located "where cross the crowded ways," such as Concord Baptist, a large Negro congregation, Holy Trinity Episcopal, Flatbush Dutch Reformed, Hanson Place Central Methodist, All Souls Universalist, Calvary A. M. E., Rugby Congregational, Bushwick Methodist and St. Ann's Episcopal, are cooperating.

* * *

Two Noted Clergymen Die in New York

Dr. Christian F. Reisner, pastor of Broadway Temple and one of the Methodist leaders in the city, passed away unexpectedly last Wednesday. He was thought to be recovering from a serious operation which he underwent several weeks ago. He was in his 68th year. Dr. Reisner was active in many organizations and civic groups. He was a strong believer in church advertising and developed his community temple by using new and striking ideas in sermon and pulpit display. His most famous achievement was the conception of Broadway Temple, the residence sections of which house 200 families in apartments which are topped with a cross said to be visible for 100 miles. The Temple itself has never been built.

"The Crusading Rector," Canon William Sheafe Chase, rector emeritus of Christ Church, Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, passed away Tuesday at his home in Kings Park, L. I. He was 83 years old and had been rector of Christ Church since 1905. Canon Chase was against all forms of immorality. He fought war, liquor, gambling, loose Sunday observance and every kind of vice. He was uncompromising in his attitude toward any immorality as he judged it. Yet, with it all, he won many a battle, otherwise impossible, because of his sweet, friendly nature and his lack of any vindictiveness in debate. At his death he was president of the Religious Union for World Peace, persisting in his idealism to the end.

* * *

Sermons Reflect Church Division on War

Recent sermons in the city reflect varying attitudes toward our present world condition. Bishop Henry J. Mickell, of Atlanta, Ga., speaking at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, said: "Today we see this civilization of rational man threatening to break down. We see it at the mercy of madmen. Our only help is to renew our trust in the power of God. We must regain an ultimate conviction in the victory of truth, peace and righteousness."

Dr. Richard Roberts, of Halifax, preaching at the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, called the church a "bedraggled, defeated force, beating a retreat." The ineffectiveness of the church, however, "is mainly due to the defectiveness of our self-committal to Christ." Then, urging deeper consecration to the Christian life, he said: "This new life breeds within us an invincible courage, a courage that allows us to go on. In order to attain it, we must forsake all we have, commit ourselves to Christ."

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick declared that the present war reveals not a failure of Christian principles but "the inevitable penalty that falls on a world refusing to live on Christ's principles." He continued: "We could have organized the world for peace. We missed that bus. Because this is a law-abiding world we face now the terrific consequences of our failure. If we Americans are wise we will resolutely refuse belligerent participation in this and any other transoceanic war, but that alone will not save us from our share in the dire consequences of our common sin and failure, when we had our victorious chance and missed it. We face difficult and dangerous days ahead. All the more it is important that we should not become defeatists, and lose faith in our own and our international possibilities."

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. Frederick H. Knubel, president of the United Lutheran Church, announced this week that $500,000 had been set as the "minimum goal for a one-year budget" for the "orphaned missions." If support for Swedish missions should be cut off, an additional $275,000 would be added, he said.

An invitation to the League of Nations to establish its non-political, technical sections at Princeton, N. J., for the duration of the war has been issued by the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Princeton University and the Princeton division of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

J. Henry Carpenter.

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Newspaper Hits Charity Racket

Spurious Charitable Appeals Exposed—Wills Governed by Public Interest—Mormons Increase in Capital

(Correspondence from Washington)

Washington, D. C., July 15.—No city in the country perhaps has been so plagued with fly-by-night charitable organizations, so called, as has Washington. Regulations have been lax with the result that a tender-hearted public has been milked. The *Washington Star,* however, has begun to call to account these organizations that refused to go into the community chest. In a series of articles this paper has been telling the public exactly what an investigating reporter has unearthed. In the future it will not be so simple a matter for telephone solicitors to work on the sympathies of patient John Public. It is but another instance of the fine service in the public interest that the *Washington Star* is rendering. This paper, by the way, refuses to accept liquor advertisements.

* * *

Court Rules Against Anti-Social Will

Has a man the right to make such disposition of his wealth as he sees fit? Only within certain limits, says a court decision just handed down here. The late Willard A. Lalor, railroad magnate, attempted to tie up $2,000,000 for a period of possibly 50 years and the court said: "No; such a procedure would be inconsistent with the principles of democracy." It seems that Mr. Lalor decreed in his will that the bulk of his estate should be held by trustees until 21 years after the death of the longest lived of two nieces. This might easily tie up the property for 50 years, for some vigorous nieces have been known to live a long time. "Inconsistent with the public interest," declared the court, and most citizens will applaud.

* * *

Mormons Create 'Stake' In Washington

The Mormon Church decides that the nation's capital should be a vital cog in its nation-wide organization. Officials from Salt Lake City are here to direct the formation of the Washington "stake" or diocese. This is but the third stake east of the Mississippi and is made necessary, so their leaders say, by the rapid growth of their church in this section. Mormon Church members in the Washington area now number approximately 3,000.

* * *

Capital City Will Miss Bishop Hughes

Widespread is the regret felt over Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes' retirement. He has, in his short residence here, become so much a part of the life of the city, both civic and religious, that it will hardly seem the same without him. Relieved of the duties of his bishopric, he will not be idle. No man is more sought after. Beloved by people of whatever church, he will be in constant demand. Bishop Leonard has been

assigned to this area and will assume his duties shortly.

* * *

President's Rector To Boston

Dr. Oliver J. Hart of St. John's Episcopal Church, known as "the President's church," is another man whom this city regrets to lose. In going to Boston's historic Trinity, Dr. Hart of course is accepting deserved promotion and for that his many friends among clergy and laity will rejoice. His genial, warmhearted personality has made him many friends.

* * *

And So Forth

Active preparation is going on for the forthcoming Christian Mission in February 1941. Dr. R. H. Miller is the general chairman.

Rev. J. Hillman Hollister, pastor of Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church, is the new president of the interdenominational ministerial union, a deserved tribute to his fine ministry over a period of more than 15 years.

For the second year, Dr. E. H. Pruden, pastor of the First Baptist Church, heads the church federation forces.

Dr. Carl C. Rasmussen, greatly beloved in all church circles, leaves Luther Place Memorial Church Sept. 1 to assume his duties on the faculty of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary as professor of systematic theology. His successor will be Dr. Charles B. Foelsch of Sunbury, Pa.

W. S. ABERNETHY.

Episcopalians Have New Plan To Eliminate Chicago Debt

George W. Overton, Chicago printing executive, will head a campaign planned by the reorganized Episcopalian laymen's organization of Chicago to liquidate the diocesan debt of over $1,000,000. The campaign proposes the raising of $100,000 annually from voluntary gifts by churchmen of the diocese.

Children Give Millions of Pennies for War Relief

Over 13,500,000 pennies have been contributed by American school children to help hungry and homeless children of war-stricken nations through the "Children's Crusade for Children." The children's money will be used by relief-dispensing agencies abroad.

Employment and Relief Bans Denounced

Maintaining that national defense is not promoted by wholesale denial of employment and public relief to aliens and members of unpopular movements, the American Civil Liberties Union has come out in vigorous opposition to threatened action to bar completely from the public service or private employment Communists and members of the German-American Bund.

Publish Beerless Restaurant *List for Minnesota*

The Minnesota Temperance Movement has just published the 1940 "beerless restaurant list" for that state. This list is put out each year for the benefit of travelers and tourists who do not like to eat their meals in saloons. Copies of the list may be obtained from H. H. Parish, executive director, 204 Hodgson Bldg., Minneapolis.

Current Feature Films

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M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

Beyond Tomorrow (RKO) Harry Carey, R. Carlson, J. Parker, C. A. Smith, C. Winninger	*Fantasy.* Bachelor household finds interest in couple they meet on Christmas Eve; return after death—still "in character"—to save romance from danger.	Delightfully interpreted by expert cast of "character" actors. Discerning comment on realities of human relationships. Afterlife element not disturbing if viewed non-realistically—as portraying eternal influence of personality. *Pleasant.* M
Dr. Christian Meets Women (RKO) Jean Hersholt	*Comedy.* The women of River's End fall for a quack professor with a "reducing" formula; finally it is up to the kindly doctor to expose the racket.	Reducing racket rather than Dr. Christian's activities receives attention. Greater element of farce than in others of series. Routine type of humor, but, as pleasant, homey, unpretentious comedy, *fairly good.* M, Y
The Man Who Talked Too Much (Warners) George Brent, V. Bruce	*Melodrama.* Disillusioned lawyer serves gangster clients until idolized younger brother, who refuses to join him, is framed by underworld.	Refusal of young brother to "go along" in order to advance in legal world is a bright spot; otherwise, film is an unpleasant portrayal, with quantities of usual gangster-film brutality and melodrama. *True to type.* M
Opened by Mistake (Par.) C. Ruggles	*Melodrama.* Reporters in weird adventures as they seek to solve trunk murder of which one is accused.	Far-fetched situations with many elements of plot unresolved and none of it convincing. Comedy situations forced—including drinking scenes. *Trivial, time-wasting.*
Passport to Alcatraz (Col) Noah Beery, Jr., Jack Holt	*Melodrama.* Holt, as detective, foils and exposes agents of foreign government in attempt to destroy valuable explosives plants.	Just a "Class B" thriller, but has action and intrigue aplenty, and is more interesting than many a pretentious "A." Foreign government, it should be noted, has no particularly German characteristics. *Fair thriller.* M, Y
Untamed (Par.) Jane Darwell, Ray Milland, P. Morison, A. Tamiroff.	*Drama.* In technicolor. Triangle affair, set in Canadian wilds, involving guide, his wife and young New York doctor. Convenient, if gruesome, solution provided when guide freezes to death.	Gorgeous background of mountains, lakes, forests, cannot entirely make up for stodgy material. On the whole—despite competent acting—not very convincing, and slow-paced until melodramatic climax. *Scenery—unlike story—inspiring.* M

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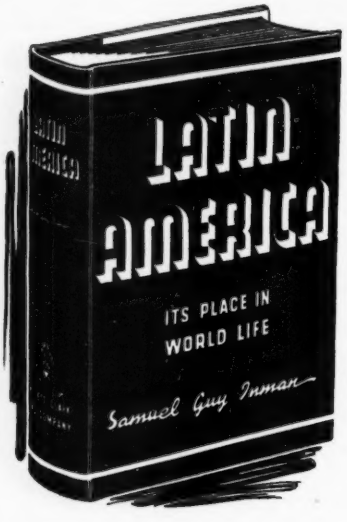

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